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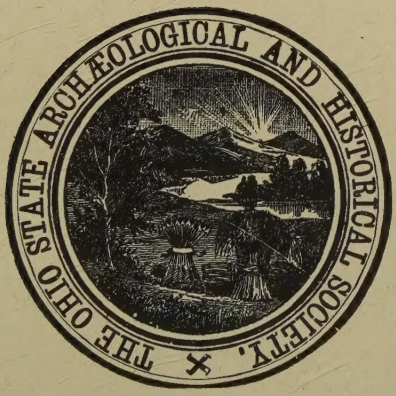


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# DAVID ZEISBERGER'S HISTORY OF THE NORTHERN AMERICAN INDIANS.

EDITED BY ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT AND WILLIAM NATHANIEL SCHWARZE.

## INTRODUCTION.

The present volume reproduces the manuscript written in German by the Moravian hero-missionary, The Reverend David Zeisberger, at his mission home beside the Muskingum River, in Ohio, in the years 1779 and 1780.

Though there is extant a most excellent biography of this noble man, *The Life and Times of David Zeisberger,* by Bishop Edmund De Schweinitz (Philadelphia, 1870), very little is popularly known of him.

In the center of the old Black Forest of America, near New Philadelphia, Ohio, a half-forgotten Indian graveyard lies beside the dusty country road. You may count here several score of graves by the slight mounds of earth that were raised above them a century or so ago. At one extremity of this plot of ground an iron railing incloses another grave marked by a plain marble slab. The grave is David Zeisberger's, — Moravian Missionary to Indians in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, and Canada for fifty active years, who was buried at this spot at his dying request, that he might await the Resurrection among his faithful Indians. His record is perhaps unequalled in point of length of service by the record of any missionary in any land.

On a July night in 1726 a man and his wife fled from their home in Austrian Moravia toward the mountains on the border of Saxony, for conscience' sake. They took with them nothing save their five-year-old boy, who ran stumbling between them, holding to their hands. The family of three remained in Saxony ten years. Then the parents emigrated to America, leaving the

son of fifteen years in Saxony to continue his education. But within a year he, too, took passage for America, and joined his parents in Georgia, just previous to their removal to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

The lad soon became interested in the study of the Delaware Indian language among the natives of that tribe living along the Susquehanna, and at once showed proficiency. Appreciating his talent, the fathers of the Moravian Church determined to send the young man to Europe, that in the best universities he might secure his training. He went as far as New York. There, just as his ship was to sail, he pleaded with tears and on his knees to be allowed to return to the woods of Pennsylvania and the school of the red men there. The words of the wise were overcome by those of the youth, and an earnest soul, as brave as it was earnest, was saved to a life of unparalleled service and devotion.

On returning to Bethlehem, Zeisberger joined a class that was studying the Iroquois tongue, the language of that powerful nation which practically controlled, by tomahawk and threat, all the territory between the colonies and the Mississippi. Soon the looked-for opportunity of visiting the Iroquois' land came, and the young student (who had been enrolled in the class of candidates as *David Zeisburger, destinirter Heidenbote*) was told off to accompany the heroic Frederick Christian Post. This was in the dark year 1745, only a few months previous to the outbreak of the old French war. The youth was now in his twenty-fourth year.

In February of the next year after these two men entered the shadow of old New York, the report was circulated in New York City that two spies had been captured among the Iroquois, who were guilty of attempting to win that nation over to the French. Such a charge at this time was the most serious imaginable, for the contest for the friendship of the Iroquois between the French on the St. Lawrence and the English on the Atlantic had become of great importance. Upon that friendship, and the support it guaranteed, seemed to hang the destiny of the Continent. The rumor created endless consternation, and the

spies were hurried on to Governor Clinton. Their trial resulted in imprisonment for six weeks, until the two were freed by an ordinance passed by Parliament exempting the missionaries of the Moravian Church from taking oath to the British Crown. Such was Zeisberger's first experience.

Back to the Iroquois land journeyed the liberated prisoner, and for ten doubtful years, until 1755, Zeisberger was engaged in learning the languages of the various tribes of the Six Nations, and in active missionary service. His success was great. Perhaps in all the history of this famous Indian Nation there was no other man, with the exception of Sir William Johnson, whom they trusted as much as they trusted David Zeisberger. Cheated on the one hand by the Dutch of New York and robbed on the other by the agents of the Dutch and the English, the Iroquois became suspicious of all men; and it is vastly more than a friendly compliment to record that in his mission-house at Onondaga, they placed the entire archives of their nation, comprising possibly the most valuable collection of treaties and letters from colonial governors ever made by an Indian nation on this continent. But war now drove the missionary away, as throughout his life war was ever to dash his fondest dreams and ever to drive him back.

Between 1745 and 1750 Zeisberger labored in New York, at Shamokin in Pennsylvania and in the valley of Wyoming; in 1750 he went to the Iroquois land with Cammerhoff; he then visited Europe but returned immediately and was a resident at Onondaga until the old French war opened in 1755; he was at Friedenshütten in 1765 and 1766; in the year following he crossed the mountains for the first time and met the Delawares on the Allegheny River; in 1768 and 1769 he was stationed in western Pennsylvania at Goschgoschünk, and at Lawanakhannek in 1769 and 1770; in the latter year his work carried him to the Beaver River; a year later he advanced to the Muskingum River in Ohio where the three well-known Moravian mission stations were built, Gnadenhütten, Lichtenau and Schoenbrünn; from now until 1781 he lived among the Delawares, though visiting the savage Shawanese in the Scioto

on at least one occasion; in 1781 his mission was broken up by the British renegades and the missionary was driven with his flock to Sandusky. Now, in 1781, begins the *Diary of David Zeisberger,* edited by Eugene F. Bliss (Cincinnati, 1885) which has been the only work published in English of Zeisberger's.

The record of Zeisberger's resolute faithfulness to the remnant of his church from this time onward is almost incredible. Like a Moses he led them always, and first to a temporary home Macomb County, Michigan. From there they were in four years removed by the Chippewas. The forlorn pilgrims now set sail in two sloops on Lake Erie; they took refuge from a terrible storm in the mouth of the Cuyahoga River. For a time they rested at a temporary home in Independence Township, Cuyahoga County, Ohio. Famine drove them in turn from here. Setting out on foot, Zeisberger led them next along the shore of Lake Erie westward to the present site of Milan, Erie County, Ohio. Here they resided until the outbreak of the savage Indian War of 1791. To escape from this Zeisberger secured from the British Government a tract of land twelve miles long and six miles wide for the Moravian Indians beside the Grand River in Canada. Here the pilgrims remained six years. But with the close of the Indian War, it was possible for them to return to their beloved home in the Tuscarawas Valley. The United States had given to the Moravian Church two tracts of land here, embracing the sites of the three towns formerly built, containing in all twelve thousand acres.

Back to the old home the patriarch Zeisberger brought his little company in the year 1798. His first duty amid the scene of the terrible Gnadenhütten Massacre was not forgotten. With a bowed head and heavy heart the old man and one assistant gathered from beneath the dense mass of bush and vine, whither the wild beasts had carried them, the bones of the ninety and more sacrificed Christians, and over their present resting-place one of the proudest of monuments now rises. For full ten years more this hero labored in the shadow of the forests where his happiest days had been spent, and only as the winter of 1808

came down upon the valley from the lakes did his great heart cease beating and his spirit pass through the heavenly gates.

Zeisberger's eminent comrades, John Heckewelder and Benjamin Mortimer, thus speak of his character:*

"He was endowed with a good understanding and a sound judgment; a friend and benefactor to mankind, and justly beloved by all who knew him, with perhaps the exception of those who are enemies of the Gospel which he preached. His reticence was the result of the peculiar circumstances of his life. He undertook many solitary journeys, and, in the first half of his life, lived at places where there either was no society, or such as was not congenial. Hence he withdrew within himself, and lived in a close communion with his unseen but ever present heavenly Friend. In all his views he was very thorough, not impulsive, not suffering himself to be carried away by extraneous influences, not giving an opinion until he had come to a positive and settled conclusion in his own mind. Experience invariably proved the correctness of his judgment. To this the missionaries who served with him all bear witness. Receiving, as it were, a glimpse of the future, through the deep thoughts and silent prayers in which he engaged, he stood up, on most occasions, full of confidence, and knew no fear. Amid distressing and perilous circumstances, not only his fellow-missionaries, but the Indian converts, invariably looked to him; and his courage, his undaunted readiness to act, his comforting words cheered them all. He would never consent to have his name put down on a salary-list, or become a 'hireling', as he termed it; saying, that although a salary might be both agreeable and proper for some missionaries, yet in his case it would be the contrary. He had devoted himself to the service of the Lord among the heathen without any view of a reward, other than such as his Lord and Master might deign to bestow upon him".

"Zeisberger was fully convinced that his vocation to preach the Gospel to the Indians and spread the kingdom of God was of divine origin, and therefore he sacrificed all vanities of the world, all convenience, and whatever is highly esteemed among men, and took up the mission of his life in strong faith, relying upon the blessing and aid of that Lord whom he served, and with joyous courage, in the midst of scorn and reproach, persecutions and menaces, hunger and perils, triumphing at last, in spite of every foe. His work was distinguished by perseverance, faithfulness, zeal, and courage. Nothing afforded him more satisfaction than the genuine conversion of those to whom he preached. This was the highest goal of his ambition. If he could gain one soul, and bring it to a saving knowledge of Christ, it was for him a more precious gift than if he had come into possession of the whole world.

* De Schweinitz *Life of Zeisberger.*

To describe the joy he experienced when an erring sheep returned to the fold is impossible. In his ministry he neither forgot that he had to contend with 'the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that worketh in the children of disobedience', nor that God was on his side. And, truly, he did overcome Satan, in an illustrious way, by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of his testimony; and loved not his life unto the death. He was not only bold in God, fearless and full of courage, but also lowly of heart, meek of spirit, never thinking highly of himself. Selfishness was unknown to him. His heart poured out a stream of love to his fellowmen. In spite of his constant journeys and exposure, he never needlessly sacrified his health. His whole bearing was extremely venerable. He was an affectionate husband; a faithful and ever-reliable friend. In a word, his character was upright, honest, loving, and noble, as free from faults as can be expected of any man this side of the grave".

The original manuscript comprising the present volume is preserved in the Moravian Archives at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania; it has been followed literally by Professor Schwarze in making the excellent translation. Though lacking many features of careful composition, the original bears everywhere the evidences of calm, straight-forward, well-founded narrative. Being a man of singularly unselfish devotion and with great ability to focus his energies upon efforts that made up his life-work, Zeisberger applied himself to the study of Indian languages to such purpose that he mastered the Delaware language and the Onondaga dialect of the Iroquois, the two most important languages of the North American Indians, and was able to do much for their development. He learned to know the Indians. He was not troubled with any misleading or romantic notions about the character and traits of these men of the woods. His knowledge of the manners, customs, character, and country of the Indians was perfected by his travels, study, observation, and uninterrupted labors.

All this argues the credibility of his narrative. Indeed, careful consideration will lead to the conclusion that as the story is given simply without aspiration to rhetorical embellishment, it is also clear and well-founded in its testimony. Zeisberger always uses calm and deliberate language, whether treating of the degradation and moral deformity of the savages, or of their redeeming traits. He really loved the Indians, spent his life in

the effort to do them good, and he gives dispassionately and honestly what he had abundant opportunity to learn of their character, customs and country.

The name of this volume, "History of the Indians," was not given to the manuscript by its author, but, by the Bishop De Schweinitz. Zeisberger, had he named it, would probably have called it, "Notes on the History, Life, Manners, and Customs of the Indians," and the most casual reader will recognize from the mode of presentation and the occasional repetitions that the manuscript is in the form of notes. It has seemed best, however, to reproduce it verbatim as written. The complete analytical index will fully make up for irregularity in arrangement and the lack of proper ordering of the material.

This manuscript, of upwards of eighty thousand words, was evidently written for the Rev. Henry Loskiel to aid him in the preparation of his most valuable *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians of North America.* Deriving his material from various sources, and writing inclusively of all the American Indians, Loskiel made less use of Zeisberger's manuscript than one would suppose, possibly incorporating, in one form or another, one-third of this manuscript and giving very slight recognition of the source of information. Moreover, writing as one who had little first-hand knowledge of his subject, many facts told by the venerable missionary of a certain Indian tribe lost, under Loskiel's treatment, much of their value, especially, when represented as though true of the typical American Indian. The result is that these pages from Zeisberger's pen, in the opinion of the editors, give the most reliable and accurate description in existence of the Indians of New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, written by one intimately acquainted with them. Lacking the polish and general literary excellence of his comrade John Heckewelder's *History,* the student perusing the two will surely agree that for solid information given in simple straight-forward style, the Zeisberger notes take first rank as a work of value. For instance, Zeisberger was practically uninfluenced by the appalling superstitions of the savages; the shams and frauds of their impotent sorcerers made but little impression on the rugged sense of the faithful missionary; so much so that one cannot

read the few sentences which imply a deviation from this steady attitude without grewsome sensations.

The antiquarian and archaeologist will find in this volume interesting additional proof of the relationship of the so-called "Moundbuilders" and the earlier Indians, the implication being exceedingly strong that they were one and the same race; the reference to mounds, arrow-heads, stone hatchets, etc., etc., being illuminating.

Mention should be made of Zeisberger's attitude toward the Indian legends, especially that of Iroquois' conquest of the Delawares. It was only proper that this historian should include in his narrative the legends which were told to him; that he did not examine them critically and pass upon their accuracy dogmatically is not, in the opinion of the editors, a discredit to him. Banished as he voluntarily was from every access to reliable historical information, and overwhelmed with the great tasks he patiently set himself to perform, it is impossible to conceive of his even attempting to examine the myths that were told him by the lips of his red skinned brethren. It would be only fair, then, to the writer of this admirable work, for the reader mentally to insert, as these legends are recounted, the words "It is said," "they say," or "they believe," etc., for the spirit of the author never warrants our believing that he received them without question. Zeisberger did not express himself in such a manner as to warrant the unqualified statement, as we elsewhere note, made by the careful Parkman, that he (Zeisberger) put faith in the story of a deceptive conquest of the Delawares by the Iroquois.

For a considerable mass of new facts concerning the life and character of the Indians in Pennsylvania, New York and Ohio, of their treatment of each other, of the married relationship, of the treatment of children, of home life and of political affairs, the student will look in vain outside of this Zeisberger manuscript. Its author wrote from an experience covering almost uninterruptedly the period from 1745 to 1778. The story of his life during those years should be read in De Schweinitz's excellent volume; no clear understanding of Ohio's history, especially in the Revolutionary period, is possible without knowing this volume. It is proper to note here a significant fact:

Zeisberger's mature acquaintance with the redmen came in those years just preceding and succeeding Pontiac's Rebellion; these were the years of dissolution, the years when the influences of civilization and the coming of the European completed the overthrow of the Indian, his family life, his state, his ancient code of laws and social customs. In effect Pontiac said, "After me the deluge;" when the Revolutionary War came on, the redman of the Middle West was as different, compared with his grandfather as we of the Twentieth Century differ from what our great-grandfathers were. One of the most valuable features of Zeisberger's *History* lies just here. Having intimately known the Indian in transformation — the Indian that, though taking the musket and the axe and the blanket, was looking back wonderingly at the bow and stone ax and the feather-and-hemp covering — he is continually giving us precious glimpses, as accurate as they are rare, of the primeval redman. This series of facts concerning these first Americans makes Zeisberger's manuscript of more than ordinary value for his attitude is very largely that of a man looking backward; no other writer of his time maintains such an attitude or has left us a record of equal minuteness relating to the region covered.

On reading his manuscript one is inclined to believe thoroughly in Zeisberger's proposition that no one could get at the real facts concerning the inner life of the redmen unless engaged in the work of converting them.

Lastly, yet of great importance, is the scientific information contained in the manuscript. Through the able assistance of Dr. Arthur Magnum Banta, of the Carnegie Station for Experimental Evolution, the full scientific value of Zeisberger's comment and description may be appreciated by the reader. From the standpoint of the biologist, for instance, the manuscript seems to be reliable and is extremely interesting. It shows intrinsic evidence of being a reliable and careful account of the various animals and plants which the author observed with interest and about which he learned various facts as well as fancies from the Indians. Zeisberger has stated nothing which he did not suppose to be true, and the few fanciful statements are easily recognized since they are such as would today be found in any lay-

man's account of natural things about him. Written by a man not a biologist the manuscript could not be other than an honest and in the main conservative account or it would show inconsistencies which could not have been appreciated by its author. No such inconsistencies appear. The chief scientific interest in the manuscript arises from the fact that it depicts conditions before the white settlers came into the Middle West, and before the ax, the rifle and the steel trap had seriously interfered with primitive natural conditions such as had existed from time immemorial. The changes in the animal and plant life since the author wrote are, of course, most sweeping. The account has its great interest and value because it is the only reliable record of the fauna and flora of the region before such marked changes occurred.

For the opinions expressed and views taken in the footnotes of this volume, as well as errors therein, the writer is personally responsible.

Zeisberger's published works include the *Diary* above mentioned; *Essay of a Delaware Indian and English Spelling Book for the use of the Schools of the Christian Indians on Muskingum River* (Philadelphia, 1776); *A Collection of Hymns for the use of the Christian Indians, of the Missions of the United Brethren in North America* (Philadelphia, 1803); *Sermons to Children* (Philadelphia, 1803); *Avg. Gottl Spangenberg. Something of Bodily Care for Children* (Philadelphia, 1803); *The History of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ*, by the Rev. Samuel Lieberkühn, M. A. (Tr. by Zeisberger). The above are in the Delaware language. Zeisberger's *Verbal Biegungen der Chippewayer* [Delawaren] was published in Vater's *Analekten der Sprachkunde* (Leipzig, 1821).

Zeisberger's manuscripts are numerous and include *Deutsch und Onondagaisches Worterbuch, Essay toward an Onondaga Grammar, Onondagaische* Grammatica (translated into English by Peter S. Duponcear, LL. D., still in Mss.), *A Grammar of the Lenni-Lenape, or Delaware Indians* (also translated by Dr. Duponcear, in Mss.), *A Dictionary in German and Delaware, Delaware Glossary, Delaware Vocabulary, Phrases and Vocabularies in Delaware, Delaware Grammar, Harmony of the Gos-*

*pels in Delaware, Hymns for the Christian Indians in Delaware, Litany and Liturgies in Delaware, Zeisberger's own Mss. Hymn Book in Delaware, Sermons by Zeisberger in Delaware, Seventeen Sermons to Children, Church Litany in Delaware, Short Biblical Narratives in Delaware, Vocabulary in Maqua and Delaware.* The last fourteen *Mss.* were collected by Edward Everett and are preserved in the Harvard University Library; the remaining Zeisberger material is in the Moravian archives at Bethlehem. Here, too, are preserved Zeisberger's diaries and letters covering his long career on the frontier and possessing very great historical value. These include the narration of his arrest in New York, of his journeys with Cammerhoff, Mack and Spangenberg, of his stay at Onondaga, 1755, his journals of 1762-67, including his journal of the trip to the Cayuga town in 1766 and to Goschgoschüng in 1767, the journal of his trip to the Allegheny, 1767-8, and the diaries and letters covering his whole Ohio, Michigan and Canadian experiences, 1771-1808. It is expected to issue a collection of Zeisberger's unpublished diaries, journals and letters as Volume Two of *The Moravian Records.*

ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT.

Marietta College, Marietta, Ohio.
December 10, 1909.

## A HISTORY OF THE INDIANS.

The North American Indians are of middle size, well built, straight, light-footed, well adapted for travel through the forest, much of which is due to the fact that they do no heavy work, but support themselves by the chase.[1] Their color is brown, but of different shades. Some are light brown, hardly to be distinguished from a brown European, did not their eyes and hair betray them. Again, others are so dark that they differ little from mulattoes.[2] Their hair is jet-black and coarse, almost like the hair of a horse's mane.[3] Their heads become gray or even white in old age, otherwise they are without exception, black. The men rarely let the hair grow long, and it is common practice among them, though the custom is obsolescent, that they root out the hair from the forehead backward so that the head is bald up to the crown and only a hand-breadth of it in circular form is suffered to remain, whence in the case of savages generally depend long braids, one on either side, closely plaited and bound by bracelets of coral, some, also, hanging silver upon them. It is a very common that they wear a plume of feathers on the middle of the head, rising straight up or hanging downward. They frequently cut the helix of the ear, leaving the upper and lower ends intact and then hang bits of lead to it so that it is stretched. Then this curved border of the auricle is bound with brass wire, distending it considerably, and decorated with silver ornaments. Among Indians who have come in contact with whites this is less often done. They, also, pierce the nose and adorn it with silver. The beard is rooted out as soon as it begins to grow. The men tattoo their bodies in arm, leg or face with all manner of figures, serpents, birds or other animals, which are marked out by pricking the skin with a needle, powder or soot being afterward rubbed into the punctures. Occasionally, the women mark their bodies thus. The women let the hair grow long, so that it sometimes reaches to the knees; they do not braid it but tie a cloth around it. The Mingoes,[4] Shawano[5] and Wiondatoo[6] women have a long braid reaching the hips, bound in cloth

and red ribbon, in the case of the rich, being further adorned with silver clasps of considerable weight from top to bottom. The Delawares, also, do this, though not so generally. The women wear earrings of wampum, coral or silver.

The men hunt, secure meat for the household, clothing for their wives and children, getting it in exchange for hides, build houses or huts, and also help their wives clear the land for cultivation and build fences around it. The duties of the women are cooking, finding fire-wood, planting and reaping. They plant corn, principally, making of this their bread, which is baked in the ashes, and preparing with it various dishes. Besides, they raise pumpkins of various kinds, potatoes, beans and other vegetables, which they have learned to know through the whites, such as cabbage, turnips, etc.[7]

The best time for the chase is in the fall, when the game is fat and the hides are good. Hence, they commonly in September and October go hunting with their families, remaining afield until the New Year or longer, though after that the skins cannot be used. Elk and buffalo they shoot little and rarely, as the hides are too heavy and of little value, and if they shoot one of these animals now and again, most of the meat is left lying in the woods, where it is consumed by wolves, or other wild animals or birds. The deer, which are most sought and are larger than the European roe, have the best skins and are most valued by the Europeans. After the New Year they devote themselves to the catching of the beaver, the raccoon, the fox and other fur-yielding animals; they also hunt the bear, at that time very fat, as a rule, and hibernating in dens, hollow trees or rocks or thickets and eating nothing for two or three months except that they suck their paws and are nourished by the fat they have acquired in the fall from consuming acorns, chestnuts, various other nuts, etc. Hunting of this nature lasts until spring, when in May their time for planting begins. In February sugar-boiling begins, farther north in March.[8] This is the work of the women, the men continuing the chase. When planting time is past, the summer chase begins at the end of June or the beginning of July, when the deer take on a reddish hue and the pelts are again good and fit for trade. The deer change their color twice in the

year. After spring-time they become red and the hair is thin. In September they turn gray or fallow, when their color is like that of the trees in the woods. The fur becomes very thick, being the winter coat. Farther north the game is larger; farther south it is smaller. In the region of Onondago[9] and at the lakes the deer are considerably larger than here along the Muskingum, and in the country of the Shawanose, about two hundred miles from here,[9½] markedly smaller, which makes a difference in trade. The Indians who really devote themselves to the chase, and this is the principal occupation and business of the savages, are at home but a small part of the year, spending most of the time in the forest. Those, on the other hand, who come to Christ and join the church, turn to agriculture and raising stock, keeping cattle, hogs and fowls. They, also, go on the chase for three or four weeks in the fall, though never far from home, in order that they may be able to use the meat; they secure their clothing in exchange for the skins.

Because the savages are accustomed to go about in the forest, which is their greatest delight, they do not care to keep cattle, for in that case they must remain at home to look after it and are prevented from going into the forest. Some have secured cattle, for they are very fond of milk[10] and butter.

Food which they prepare must be well cooked and well done; they do not like anything rare or raw. Meat and even fish must be so thoroughly cooked that they fall apart.

Concerning the chase in general, as engaged in by the Indians, it should yet be noticed that, because there is considerable trade in skins, deer are killed mainly for their hides and only so much of the flesh is used as the Indians can consume while on the chase, wherefore, most of the meat is left in the woods for the wild animals, which the wolves, especially, seem to know, for these animals take advantage of the hunting season and move in the direction of much shooting; they follow the report of the guns and, when the huntsman has skinned the deer, consume the carcass. The Indians rarely shoot a wolf, the skin of this animal being of little value. As an Indian shoots from fifty to a hundred and fifty deer each fall, it can easily be appreciated that game must decrease.

Their dress is light; they do not hang much clothing upon themselves. If an Indian has a Match-coat, that is a blanket of the smaller sort, a shirt and brich clout[11] and a pair of leggins, he thinks himself well dressed. In place of a blanket, those who are in comfortable circumstances and wish to be well dressed, wear a strowd, i. e., two yards of blue, red or black cloth which they throw lightly over themselves and arrange much as they would a Match-coat. Trousers they do not wear; but their hose, reaching considerably above the knee and held together by a piece of strowd and extending only to the feet, to some extent supply the place of trousers. If they desire to go in state, they wear such hose with a silken stripe extending from top to bottom and bordered with white coral. Their shoes are made of deer skin, which they prepare themselves, the women being particularly skilled in doing this and in working all manner of designs; Mingoe women excel all others in this particular. Some wear hats or caps secured in trading with the whites; others do not cover themselves but go bare-headed.

Women are distinguished in dress only in this respect, that instead of a coat they wear a strowd over the hips bound about the body next the skin, removed neither day nor night and extending but little beyond the knees. They anoint the hair liberally with bear's fat, so that it shines. Their adornment consists in hanging much wampum, coral and silver about their necks and it is not unusual for them to have great belts of wampum depending from the neck. Their shirts and strowds they adorn with many silver buckles. It is also customary for them to sew red, yellow or black ribbon on their coats from top to bottom, being very fond of bright things.

Men as well as women wear silver bracelets, and the latter also arrange silver clasps in their hair or wear a band about the head with as many silver ornaments on it as it will hold. All these things they secure from the whites, principally from traders who in times of peace bring their wares to the Indian towns to exchange for skins and pelts. In course of such occupation many traders have, in the event of Indian wars, lost all their goods and even their lives.

In the matter of House-keeping and Domestic Arrangements, it seems to be established that what a man secures in the chase belongs to his wife; as soon as he brings skins and flesh home he no longer regards them as his own, but as property of his wives. On the other hand what the woman has gained in planting and harvesting is for the husband and she must provide for him everything that he needs in the chase. Yet I have observed that this is not invariably the case, for some men keep the skins, and buy for the women and children such clothes with them as they need and do not permit them to suffer want. Cattle belong to women, horses to men, though a man may give his wife a pony for her own.[12] Children, especially boys, are not held to work; the latter are to become hunters. They are allowed their own way, their elders saying: "We did not work ourselves in the days of our youth." They follow their own inclinations, do what they like and no one prevents them, except it be that they do harm to others; but even in that case they are not punished, being only reproved with gentle words. Parents had rather make good the damage than punish the children, for the reason that they think the children might remember it against them and avenge themselves when they have attained to maturity. Girls are rather more accustomed to work by their mothers, for as the women must pound all the corn in a stamping trough or mortar, they train their daughters in this and also in such other work as will be expected of them, as cooking, bread-making, planting, making of carrying-girdles and bags, the former used to carry provisions and utensils on their backs while journeying and the latter to hold the provisions. Both are made of wild hemp[13] which they gather in the fall and use for various purposes, for mending of shoes and making the thread with which they sew amongst the rest. Wild hemp is much tougher than that cultivated by the whites. In the matter of cleanliness, too much must not be expected among the Indians. The brass kettles in which they cook, the dishes which they make of the growths and knots of trees, and also their spoons, which are usually very large, are rarely washed, so that it is not very tempting for a European, unaccustomed to this, to eat with them. Yet in this respect, also, one finds differences, for some

are as cleanly as one could expect it. The Monsys[14] and the Mingoes, however, far excel the Delawares in uncleanliness, and, since the dogs are constantly in the houses or lying about the fires, there are generally many fleas and other insects.

Their britchen,[15] made of boards and arranged about the fire, serve as table, bench and bedstead. The underbedding upon which they lie, is either an untanned deer or bear skin or a mat of rushes, which grow in ponds or stagnant water; these the women are clever enough to decorate in red, black or other colors, finding the materials for the latter in the forest. These mats they also fasten about the walls of their lodges, keeping out the cold of winter as well as for ornamentation. Blankets worn during the day as part of the clothing serve at night as covering.

Boys and girls sleep apart. As soon as girls walk a little frock is fastened about them in order that they may accustom themselves to wear their clothing in a modest manner, the garments of the women being short, for the reason that long gowns would seriously inconvenience them in their movements through the forests. In this particular the boys are neglected, wearing little or nothing until at the age of five or six years, when a flap of cloth is fastened to a leathern band or girdle that has been worn from early in infancy in order that they might become accustomed to it.

Houses of the Indians were formerly only huts and for the most part remain such humble structures, particularly in regions far removed from the habitation of whites. These huts are built either of bast (tree-bark peeled off in the summer) or the walls are made of boards covered with bast. They are low structures. Fire is made in the middle of the hut under an opening whence the smoke escapes. Among the Mingoes and the Six Nations[16] one rarely sees houses other than such huts built entirely of bast, which, however, are frequently very long, having at least from two to four fire-places; as many families inhabiting such a house as there are fire-places, the families being related. Among the Delawares each family prefers to have its own house, hence they are small. The Mingoes make a rounded,

arched roof, the Delawares on the contrary, a high pitched, peaked roof. The latter, coming much in contact with the whites, as they do not live more than a hundred miles from Pittsburg, have learned to build block houses or have hired whites to build them. Christian Indians generally build proper and comfortable houses and the savages who seek to follow their example in work and household arrangement learn much from them,.

The North American Indians, whom I wish now to describe as well as I have learned to know them, are by nature (I speak of savages) lazy as far as work is concerned. If they are at home and not engaged in the chase they lie all day on their britchen and sleep; when night comes they go to the dance or wander about in disorderly fashion. The old men work a little, chopping wood or doing other things about the house, but the younger do nothing unless driven by dire necessity to build a hut or house or the like. Whatever time is not devoted to sleep is given to amusements, such as ball playing, which they have learned from the whites, as also cards. A game with dice they have themselves invented. The dice are made of the pits of wild plums, not cubical but oval shaped and smooth, black on one side and yellow on the other. These they each in turn raise in a wooden vessel and throw forcibly to the ground, occupying whole days in this way and accompanying their plays with much noisy ejaculation. Dances take place every night, all young people, men and women, attending. The dancing takes place either in a large house or in the open about the fire.[17] The men lead in the dance, the women closing the circle. Such is the exultant shouting on these occasions that it can be heard two or three miles away. The dance usually lasts until midnight, though there are intervals of rest. The drum which keeps the time is a thin deer-skin stretched across a barrel, or, in lieu of this, a kettle.

They are proud and haughty, even a miserable Indian, capable in no respect, imagines himself to be a great lord.[18] They hold themselves in high regard as if they were capable of great and wonderful things, in which respect they are much encouraged by dreams, held among them to be very significant and,

indeed, it would appear that through dreams Satan holds the heathen bound and fettered and in close connection with himself, subjecting them in this fashion to delusion. All this the missionaries discover in those who come to the church and who need be thoroughly humbled before they give up the vain imaginations concerning themselves.

They are masters in the art of deceit and at the same time are very credulous; they are given over to cheating and stealing, and are not put to shame when caught. Stealing is very common among them. They will steal and sell each other's horses; and, though a thief be caught, little is done to him beyond taking his rifle. This he hardly refuses to give up, since another can be secured for some other horse that he may steal.

They are capable of hiding their anger readily, but await an opportunity to avenge themselves on the person by whom they think themselves to have been injured, and this generally occurs secretly and quietly. If, however, one of them expresses himself in harsh threats towards anyone who has injured him, go-betweens are chosen who seek to establish peace between the two, the same being usually effected by means of a belt of several fathoms[19] of wampum, furnished by the one who has been threatened.

They are courageous where no danger is to be found, but in the face of danger or resistance they are fearful and the worst cowards.[20] Hence, in wartime they prefer to attack defenceless whites on plantations, women and children, when they least expect it. Against them they show their heroic courage. They can be very friendly to a white man, give him to eat and act as if they had nothing evil in mind against him and then drive the hatchet into his head, of which I will give you a few examples. In the last Indian war, about the year 1763,[21] when it seemed as if the war were at an end and peace ruled once more in the Indian country but broke out anew so suddenly that the whites knew nothing of it, a large party of traders, with much merchandise, went to the Wiandots. These met them and, seeing that the traders were too strong for them, sought by deception to get them into their power, telling them, therefore, that a strong detachment of Tawas[22] was on the move to destroy them.

They, the Wiandots, would give them good counsel to the end that they might save their lives. They should submit as prisoners, suffer themselves to be bound, in order that when the Tawas should arrive they might see them already prisoners, in which case they would do them no injury. They themselves would harm them in no manner and surely accompany them to their towns with their merchandise. Their advice must be acted upon at once for the enemies were not far distant. The traders believed them, allowed themselves to be bound, even aiding their captors by binding each other. No sooner were they fettered than the Wiandots forthwith murdered them and secured rich booty.

Some years ago, before the present war[23] began, the Shawanose causing disturbance, some whites who had been living among them were obliged to save their lives by flight. One of the latter, hungry and weak, had separated himself from his companions and, in view of a Delaware town, fell into the hands of several Mingoes, who perceived at once that he was very weary and weak. They bade him sit down, gave him something to eat and after they had fed and refreshed him, killed him, all of which was witnessed by a Delaware woman, who afterward related the circumstance.

In studying the Indians, their mode of life and deportment toward each other, particularly the relations between the sexes, it is safe to say that one does not learn to know them well until they become concerned about the well-being of their souls and confess the evils that weigh on their consciences. One may be among them for several years and, not knowing them intimately, as stated, regard them as a virtuous people. Far from it. Impurity and immorality, even gross sensuality and unnatural vice flourish among them, according to the testimony of the Indians themselves, more than was the case formerly.[24] As they marry early in life, the men in the eighteenth or nineteenth year, the women in the fifteenth or sixteenth or even earlier, one would imagine that the Indians should increase rapidly and have many children. Yet an Indian may become old and have but few or no children, for family ties are only too frequently and easily broken on slight provocation, even when there are chil-

dren. Only as the parties advance in age and cannot so readily form other connections, are matrimonial relations apt to be permanent. Owing to instability of family relationship, children are often neglected. This does not argue that the Indians do not love their children. As every creature loves its young, so the Indians do love their children, are indeed, very fond of them, especially as they mature and return the affection. But sin and lust bring about unnatural conditions. It seems as if a curse rested upon them and that they were destined to become extinct. There is another clan of Indians who live with their wives because they love their children, and at the same time have concubines, who do not live in the house, because the rightful wife will not suffer this. The latter will generally be content to remain with her husband. I have known cases where an Indian would have two wives in his house, but this is rare.

Yet there are Indians, even among the savages,[24½] who maintain peaceable and orderly family life. Among them larger families are the rule, there being often from eight to twelve children. The difference between these Indians and their fellows may be easily appreciated.

The Indians have both capacity and skill for work, if they only had the inclination. Such is their mental constitution that they readily grasp and understand. Some who have been much with whites have begun to work in iron, have fashioned hatchets, axes, etc., right well, have given up the chase because they have found regular work much more profitable and less hard on clothing and shoes than wandering through the forest in pursuit of game. It is, however, true that in the forest they are a wonderful people. They can go on a journey of many days in the forest where there is neither path nor trail, without getting lost. It is as if Nature had fixed the compass in their heads. No European is equal to them in this respect. If they would go anywhere and have determined on the journey, nothing prevents the carrying out of their purpose. Though creeks and rivers are often swollen and progress is difficult, they know what to do when white men would be at their wit's end. In company of Indians one may be sure not to be lost nor to suffer starvation.

On their journeys they are never in haste, for they are everywhere at home and whithersoever they wander they find sustenance in the forest. Therefore, if a white man travels with them it is wisest that he be content not to hasten but accommodate himself to their movements. In the morning they do not break camp early, not until they have eaten heartily, by which time the sun has usually been above the horizon two or three hours. Thereafter, they proceed very steadily until near sundown, when they go into camp. In rainy weather they peel bast from the trees and speedily build a hut, that is, a roof supported by four posts, under which they remain comfortably dry. This they do not only in summer but also in winter, at which time they know what trees to peel. In more northerly regions, as near Goschgoschingᵃ⁵ and the Mingoe country, where the snow is apt to be deep in winter, they go on snowshoes over the deepest snow. Here along the Muskingum, however, where the snow is never deep, this is not necessary; hence, in this means of locomotion the Delawares are not as skilled as the Mingoes. These snowshoes are like a heavy barrel-hoop, curved and very narrow in front, pointed behind and broad in the middle. This hoop is mostly interlaced with deerskin, something like a coarse sieve, so that the snow may not gather on it, but fall through. A little to the front of the middle there is a wooden crosspiece and a small opening upon which the foot is placed and bound with leathern thongs in such a fashion that the snowshoes seem to be dragged along behind on the snow. As to provisions for the journey, they take corn crushed to a meal or roasted in hot ashes, then crushed, with which they mix a little sugar; of this, in the heat of summer, a refreshing and at the same time, nourishing drink may be prepared, if a little is stirred in water. This mixture may also be boiled in water or eaten dry. These two kinds of meal are the usual provisions. Cornbread does not keep long, in the summertime, particularly, becoming unwholesome in three or four days. Meat they can procure anywhere in the forest, as game is always to be found. In the securing of it they lose little time, for when they contemplate pitching a camp, the Indians plunge into the woods and shoot a deer, a turkey-cock or something else.

If they wish to proceed by water, or having been hunting, are anxious to return home heavily laden with meat and skins, they speedily make a canow [canoe] of bast, load it with their things and go whither they will. These canows are fashioned of one piece of bast, the outer side of which is turned inward, both ends sharply pointed and securely sewn with bast, the inside being stretched out by a ribbing of bent wooden rods, which keeps the canow in its proper form. These canows are so light upon the water that they easily glide away from under the feet of one unaccustomed to them when attempting to stand. Capsize they cannot, because they are very broad and carry heavy burdens. To make one they choose a tree according to the size of canow desired and peel the bark off carefully so that there may be no rent. If a canow gets out of repair or is punctured by wood that floats in the water, or stones, the latter frequently the case because they are thin, the Indians know how to repair it by securing a patch of bast over any opening. Besides, there is a kind of elm-wood bast which they crush or pound fine and which is of a sticky consistency, serving them in place of tar, to keep their canows water-tight so that they do not leak. Even so, a canow barely lasts more than a year.[26] At one time they were more used than is the case now, when they use them only occasionally, as necessity may dictate; for since they have hatchet, axe and other tools they make canows hewn out of trees, using fire also to burn out the trunks.

Indians are not less, rather more, subject to disease than Europeans, their rough manner of life and the hardships of travel and the chase being contributing causes. On journeys they mind neither water nor snow nor ice, even though creeks and rivers be ever so full of running ice they go through and nothing holds them up. On the chase they not only steal through the woods to get, unnoticed, near the game, but also pursue it should it run before them, until they get within range, thus often tiring the deer they may have chased from morn till eve and then at the end of the day shooting one after another, sometimes eight or ten miles away from their hunting lodge, no food having been tasted the entire day. So long as they are young and strong,

they suffer no ill effects, but with advancing years, the inevitable results are felt. Rheumatism is common among them,[27] often leading to lameness, deafness or blindness. The women who carry everything by means of a carrying girth fixed to the forehead, whence the whole burden — and a hundred weight is not considered heavy — is suspended down the back, suffer in back and neck as they grow older. The men carry everything hung to a carrying girth fixed across the chest. A deer weighing from a hundred to a hundred and thirty pounds they will carry the entire way home before allowing themselves to rest.[28]

These carrying girths are made by the women of wild hemp which is first spun. That part of these girths which passes across the breast and over the shoulders is three fingers [inches] broad and decorated with various figures; from it depend long, plaited, durable bands, to which the burden is bound.

They are subject to festering sores. Cured in one place, they break out in another.[29] Chills and fever, dysentery, hemorrhage, and bloody flux in women are very common among them. Venereal diseases have during the last years spread more and more, due, doubtless, to their disorderly life.

Care and attention for the sick amount to but little, the Indians being poor nurses. So long as they can go out they lie on the hard bed of boards; no longer able to do this they are laid on the ground near the fire, possibly upon grass or hay, a small hole in the ground under the patient serving as a bed-pan. In time of sickness their diet consists of thin soup of pounded corn, without either butter, fat or salt. Not until a patient is convalescent is he allowed any meat.

There are Indians who have considerable knowledge of the virtue of roots and herbs,[30] learned from the fathers, and who bring about relief. They are well paid for their services. Whoever is in possession of knowledge of this nature keeps it to himself, communicating it to no one. Only in old age or when death is near is the knowledge imparted to a child or friend, though even this does not always happen. If they give a dose, which, as, indeed, all roots and herbs used for medicinal purposes, they call *Beson*, i. e., medicine, and which consists commonly of quite a kettle full — for with them quantity signifies

much and the decoction usually being weak is rarely an overdose—none can see nor know of what roots and herbs it has been prepared, for they are pounded very fine. If one should know enough to help himself, being able to prepare *Beson,* and became ill, he will rarely treat himself, having the superstitious belief that what is prepared by himself will be of no benefit. Using what has been prepared by another, he believes, will bring relief.

Wounds and external injuries the Indians treat very successfully, knowing what applications to make. In the curing of those suffering from snake-bite, they are particularly capable. For the bite of every variety of snake they have a special *Beson.*[31] For the treatment of internal affections, however, they lack both knowledge and skill.

The doctors among the Indians are nothing other than charlatans.[32] Fancied skill and imagined ability to heal the sick are traced to dreams which these individuals may have had in their youth. To the dreams they appeal, for in them they have much faith. Thus one may in a dream see a fierce animal. Upon this he will ponder much, believing that it was not by chance but rather that it signifies a gift of special power, marking him out a favored man; or an Indian will seem to converse with him in a vision, saying: "I am lord over all and can do whatsoever I will; if you will offer sacrifice to me I will give you power to do great things and none shall be able to do you any injury." Older Indians, no longer fit for the chase, are particularly anxious to become medicine men, being able as such not only to maintain themselves but even to acquire wealth. Should one wish to be treated, payment must be ready, in value from £20 to £30, as soon as the doctor enters the home. If the payment is insufficient it may be expected that there will be but little circumstance and ceremony, in which case treatment will hardly avail. The doctor has the patient laid before him on the ground in the house or in the open, breathes upon him; or, taking a potion prepared from herbs and roots, blows it into the face and over the body of the sick — for they fancy themselves capable of curing the sick by breathing upon them and persuade the Indians that they have this power; or he makes

horrible grimaces, tries to appear hideous and terrible and make such a noise with his howling that he can be heard in the whole town. Treatment of this kind takes many forms. Sometimes the doctor crawls into a sweating-oven, expressly built for the purpose, taking a sweat-bath while the patient lies without at the opening. Temperature within is kept up by continually adding hot stones. Continuing his awful howling, the doctor occasionally looks out at the patient, with horrid grimaces; he may also feel his pulse. All this done, he will declare either that the patient will soon be better or that he has been bewitched or that he must bring sacrifice to appease spirits who have been offended or make some other requirement. What the doctor says, must be done. If the sick recover, it is believed to be due to the treatment. In case there is no improvement another doctor is summoned. Not infrequently this is kept up until all the possessions of a family have been devoted to useless doctoring. The poor are treated by these doctors only when their friends contribute to make certain the payment for services. In all manner of cases, whether it be external injury or paralysis or internal disease, child-birth[33] or child complaint, these doctors are summoned. They rarely give any medicine but always go through their deceptive performances. There are Indians who think little of such treatment and do not willingly summon a doctor, but they have the superstitious fear that a doctor might bring about their death if he were not consulted. An Indian, now a Christian, told me that once, while still a heathen, he had come to an Indian who was ill and who required of him that he should give him a doctor's treatment, promising a horse in payment. This Indian had never done such a thing, for he was no doctor, yet as the invalid insisted, he consented to do it and got the horse. This seems to indicate that any one may become a doctor who can conduct himself in a sufficiently mad fashion.

It is a custom of the Indians, even when they are tired or have caught cold, to go into a sweating oven several times a week. For this purpose every town has on its outskirts a sweating oven. It is built of timber and boards, covered completely with earth. They crawl in through a small opening, the latter being closed as soon as they have gone in. A fire is usually

built in front of the opening before they go in and hot stones placed in the middle of the inclosed area. Not long after they have entered, they are covered with perspiration, then they crawl out and cool off, returning to repeat the same thing three or four times. Women have their own sweating ovens though they do not use them as commonly as do the men.[34]

Blood-letting and cupping are also in vogue among them. For blood-letting they use flint or glass. Of either they break off little fragments until a piece is secured that suits the purpose. This is fixed to a short stick, placed upon the artery and struck. In case of cupping, they open the skin with a knife, put a little calabash over the opening, burning birch-bast instead of a lamp.

The Delaware Nation, consisting of three tribes, the Unamis,[35] Wunalachticos[36] and Monsys,[37] formerly lived in the region about Philadelphia, also in Jersey about Trenton, Brunswick and Amboy. The Unamis are the chief people of the nation; their language, differing but little from that of the Wunalachtico, is the most melodious. The Monsy tongue is quite different, even though the three grew out of one parent language. The last named tribe lived in Minnissing[38] along the Delaware, behind the Blue Mountains.

Among Indians belonging to the Moravian Congregation on the Muskingum River there are some old people, who were in Philadelphia when the first houses were built there. They are able to relate how peaceably and agreeably the whites and Indians dwelt together, as if they had been one people, being ever ready each to serve the other. Even among the savages there are old people, who tell the following, as I have heard it from various individuals.

Before the whites had come into the land, there had been Indians who foretold that someone would come to them across the great sea. This they had repeated on various occasions in the hearing of other Indians, at the last even indicating the day when this should come to pass, the event making good their words. How these Indians could have foretold it, no one professes to know, the only explanation offered being that there

must have been vision or revelation. They had repeatedly looked out over the sea, until at last a vessel was sighted, when they had immediately summoned the Indians and said: "See, here comes some one to us, concerning whose coming we have long ago told you; the gods are coming to visit us." They worshipped them, regarding them as deities. When the whites landed, they gave the Indians knives, hatchets, muskets and various other things they knew not how to use and, consequently, carefully put away. On occasion of feasts or sacrifices they suspended the knives and hatchets from their necks as ornaments and worshipped the various articles, bringing sacrifices to them. The muskets they did not use except on special days, when to satisfy curiosity a few shots were fired and then sacrifices offered them. When the whites, after lapse of considerable time came again and saw that the things they had given were worn about the neck, they gave the Indians instructions in the use of the knife, hatchet and musket.

In those early days the manner of living of the Indians was very different from that of the present time, yet, though they were wretchedly equipped and could barely supply their wants, they succeeded in supporting life.[39] They planted corn, beans, pumpkins, which they had at that time. Their hoe was a bone from the shoulder blade of the deer, which is broad at one end and very narrow at the other. With this bound to a stick they worked the soil. A turtle-shell sharpened by means of a stone and similarly attached to a stick, served much the same purpose. A kind of tobacco known as Brazilian tobacco, they also had; to the present day this tobacco, which has but small leaves, is called Indian tobacco.

Their knives were made of flint, not in the form of our knives but shaped like arrow-heads, i. e., triangular, quite thin and with the two larger sides sharp. With such knives they stripped off the skin of deer and other game.

Their hatchets, also made of stone and about the length of a hand, smoothed and sharpened, were secured to a wooden handle. These were not used for splitting wood but only to kill trees, as no more is necessary than to chop through the bark, if this is done at the right time, or to peel off bast for covering

their huts. Trees were killed wherever they wished to have space for planting.

For the chase they used bow and arrow, both made of wood, the point of the arrow alone being of flint in the shape of a lengthened triangle, sharp and pointed, securely tied to the shaft.

Kettles and pots for cooking they made of clay mixed with sea shells, pounded very fine. After the pot had been shaped it was burned hard in fire. All these things, knives, hatchets, arrows and large pieces of the pottery they used at one time, are frequently found in places where Indians have lived. Potsherds have become black through and through so that the shell pieces may be seen.

They could shoot game as well in those days as at the present time with their rifled guns. They declare that game was not as shy then as now by reason of the report of the guns. In those days they killed only as much of game as was needed for sustenance, skins being used for clothing both men and women; hence, game was more abundant at that time. The women made blankets of turkey-feathers which were bound together with twine made of wild hemp. Of such many are to be found even at the present day among the Indians, and these in winter are a better protection against the cold than the best European blanket. The women also made themselves petticoats of wild hemp.

Bow and arrow have fallen into disuse among those Indians that trade with whites; are, indeed, only used for small game, such as the pigeon, fox and raccoon, in order to save powder. There are, however, whole tribes to the west and northwest that use nothing but bow and arrow in the chase and that have no European weapons, that are not even anxious to obtain them; for, say they, if we discard bow and arrow, who will then make for us enough of powder and shot. They prefer, therefore, to hold to their old custom and usage.

The fire materials of those days consisted of a dry piece of wood or board and a round dry stick. The latter was placed upon the board and turned or twirled with great swiftness, both hands being used, until there was smoke and fire. This, however, was done only in case their fire had gone out, which they

were generally careful to keep burning. On journeys they were accustomed to carry fire with them from one lodging-place to another, for which purpose they used a certain kind of fungus,[40] that grows upon trees. With such a glowing piece of fungus they could travel from morning to evening. This custom has to the present day not ceased among the Indians, nor has the method of making fire described above, some still employing it on special occasions and in connection with their sacrifices, in order to remind themselves of former customs and usages. Firewood they did not split in former days nor could they have done so with their hatchets of stone. They burned it into pieces of such length that could be carried home. They built a fire against the trunks of standing trees and kept it burning until they fell, which method still obtains among them, especially the older ones, for whom it is difficult to fell trees and split wood and who, perhaps, do not even own a hatchet. These may not burn a piece of split wood during a whole winter, but provide fuel for themselves in the manner described, which is quite easy and convenient for them.

Canows made of wood as well as bast, they also had in earlier days, fashioning the former out of a whole tree trunk, which they burned out and only used their hatchets to chop off glowing coals, lest they should burn in deeper in one place than another or even burn a hole through.

Their dwellings were huts of bark, which they lined with rushes in order to keep out the cold, roofed they were with bark, even as is the case now, though sometimes rushes or long, dry reed-grass served the purpose.

Underground dwellings there were, also, of which here and there traces may be found, particularly along the Muskingum, in which region one may yet see many places, where embankments, still to be seen, were thrown up around a whole town.[41] Here and there, furthermore, near the sites of such towns there are mounds, not natural, but made by the hand of man, for in those days the natives carried on great wars with one another, Indians being formerly, according to their own testimony, far more numerous than at the present time. At the top of these mounds there was a hollow place, to which the Indians brought

their wives and children when the enemies approached and attacked them, the men ranging themselves round the mound for defensive action. Their weapons were the bow and arrow and a wooden club, this last a piece of wood of not quite arm's length, having at the end a round knob about the size of a small child's head and made of very hard wood. Shields they bore made of hardened buffalo leather and presenting a convex surface without, while being hollow within. The curved outer surface they held toward the enemy and before their own breasts and faces in order that arrows discharged at them, striking the curved surface, would glance off and go to the side. With the left hand they held both shield and bow and with the right they drew the bow and held the arrow. On the above named hills they always had great blocks lying all about, in order that should the enemies attempt to storm the heights these might be rolled upon and among them so as to keep them off. In such attacks both sides usually lost many men, which were often buried in one pit and a great mound of earth raised above them, such as may even now be seen bearing in these days great and mighty trees.[12]

Dogs they likewise possessed in former days, of a kind still to be found in considerable numbers among them. These may be readily distinguished from European dogs, which are now most commonly found among the Indians, especially the Delawares. The ears of Indian dogs rise rigidly from the head and the animals have something of a wolfish nature, for they show their teeth immediately when roused. They will never attack a wolf in the forest, though set on to do so, in this respect, also differing from European dogs. Of their origin their masters can give as little information as of that of the Indians themselves

The wampum strings of the Indians were formerly made of bits of wood, some white, some black, which were used in connection with embassies and speeches. Belts of wampum were also made. Some few were made of mussel-shells, which were held in the same value among them as gold among the Europeans, for much time was consumed in making even one such string of wampum. When whites came into the country these contrived to make wampum strings which they bartered to the Indians, who used them in place of their wooden wampum, as

is even now the case, though they are not accounted as valuable as at one time. Formerly they sometimes used in the place of the belts the wing of some large bird, which is still done among the nations living in remoter regions, where wampum is rare or not to be had at all, where there is no trade with Europeans and some have not even seen wampum. Occasionally, though not often, embassies from such distant people come to the Delawares.[43]

A belt is given in confirmation of a message or speech, as they know nothing of writing; an answer given is similarly ratified by a belt of the same size. An alliance or league is hardly arranged by two peoples with less than twenty belts of wampum. Often thirty or more are required.

As I have digressed from the main matter, viz., the character and nature of the land, I must yet in passing notice how it came about that the Delawares, who had lived near the sea and along the Delaware River, came to Alleghene,[44] where they were strangers and had no claim to the land. Some eighty years ago, more or less, the whites being already in the country and many of the Delawares having moved far up the Delaware River, a party of these Indians, with the cousin of a chief as captain, went on a hunt. They were attacked by Cherokees, at that time dwelling along the Allegheny and its branches, and some of them were killed, the captain, a cousin of the chief, among the rest. The survivors fled to their homes, related to the chief what had happened and suggested that he give them more men in order that they might avenge themselves on their enemies. The chief, however, put them off and did not let them go, even though he sorrowed over the loss they had suffered. After the lapse of a year the chief sent out several hundred men to avenge themselves on the Cherokees (the Delawares at that time already having European arms). When they arrived at the enemies' first towns along the Allegheny, they found no one, for all had fled at the news of the Delawares' approach. The latter pursued, the Cherokees constantly retreating until they were overtaken at the great island[45] at the fork where Pittsburg is now situated. Perceiving that the Delawares were strong in num-

bers, they had no heart to fight, though they stood ready with bow and arrow in hand; instead, their chiefs called to the Delawares to rest their arms and not fight. Afterwards they had an interview with the Delawares and surrendered themselves as prisoners. About half of them, however, dissatisfied with the capitulation, refused to surrender and escaped during the night, going down the river to the mouth of another river, now named the Cherokee River,[46] where they landed and afterward settled along this stream, in the region in which they still live. After the Delawares had finished with the Cherokees, the Six Nations arrived, having heard of the expedition of the Delawares. When they realized that the Delawares were masters of the situation, they professed satisfaction and said that they had come to assist them, but recognized that their aid was not now needed. Thereupon the Delawares gave them some of their prisoners as a present for their trouble and suffered them to go to their homes. Then the Delawares remained a long time at the Beaver Creek, to which they gave its name, in view of the animals that there abounded. After that the Delawares turned their faces homeward but soon returned, and since that time this region has been inhabited by Delawares and year by year more have come. Later the Wiondats, in connection with a solemn council, recognized the claim they made to the territory, inasmuch as they had conquered it. All this land and region, stretching as far as the creeks and waters that flow into the Alleghene the Delawares call Alligewinenk, which means, "a land into which they came from distant parts." The river itself, however, is called Alligewi Sipo. The whites have made Alleghene out of this, the Six Nations calling the river the Ohio.

The Cherokees were very powerful but had no friends among the nations; on the contrary, the Six Nations and the Wiondats waged war against them, though the Delawares made no further expeditions against them. Once it occurred that the Cherokees, pursuing the Six Nations who had done them some injury, came up to some Delaware towns and killed several of that people. This provoked a war between the Delawares and Cherokees that lasted until 1766 or 1767, when the Cherokees

sought the friendship of the Delawares, who had done them much harm, even to the extent of going into their towns and killing a number of people. Hence, they made peace and the Cherokees recognized the Delawares as their grandfathers. Through intervention of the Delawares the Cherokees secured peace also with the Six Nations and others, which was established in 1768,[46½] when the mission of the Brethren was begun at Goschgosching.

With the Delawares the Six Nations carried on long wars before the coming of the white man, and even after the advent of the pale-face, but the former were always too powerful for the Six Nations. The latter were convinced that if they continued the wars, their total extirpation would be inevitable. The Six Nations indeed boast that they had overcome the Delawares but these will not grant it, stating that as the Six Nations recognized the superior strength of the Delawares they thought of a means of saving their honor and making peace so that it might not seem that they had been conquered by the Delawares.

Soon after Pennsylvania had been settled by the whites, the Six Nations sent an embassy to the Delawares, opened negotiations and said:[47] It is not profitable that all the nations should be at war with each other, for this would at length ruin the whole Indian race. They had, therefore, contrived a remedy by which this evil might be prevented while there was yet opportunity to do so. One nation should be the woman. She should be placed in the midst, while the other nations, who make war, should be the man and live around the woman. No one should touch or hurt the woman, and if any one did so, they would immediately say to him, "Why do you beat the woman?" Then all the men should fall upon him who has beaten her. The woman should not go to war but endeavor to keep the peace with all. Therefore, if the men that surround her should beat each other and the war be carried on with violence, the woman should have the right of addressing them, "Ye men, what are ye about; why do ye beat each other? We are almost afraid. Consider that your wives and children must perish unless you desist. Do you mean to destroy yourselves from the face of the earth?" The men should then hear and obey the woman. Ever since then the Six Nations have called the Delawares their cousins, i. e.,

sister's children, and declared them to be the woman, dressed them in a woman's long habit, reaching down to the feet, though Indian women wear only short garments that reach but little below the knee, and fastened this about their bodies with a great, large belt of wampum. They adorned them with ear-rings, such as their women were accustomed to wear. Further, they hung a calabash filled with oil and beson [medicine] on their arms, therewith to anoint themselves and other nations. They also gave them a corn-pestle and a hoe. Each of these points was confirmed by delivering a belt of wampum and the whole ceremony observed with the greatest solemnity. One must not, however, think they actually dressed them in women's garments and placed corn-pestle and hoe in their hands. It is to be understood in the same way as when the chiefs among the Indians lay out a trail several hundred miles through the woods, they cut away thorn and thicket, clear trees, rocks and stones out of the way, cut through the hills, level up the track and strew it with white sand, so that they may easily go from one nation to another; but when one goes the way that has thus been cleared it is found to be full of wood and rocks and stones and all overgrown with thorns and thicket. The woman's garment signified that they should not engage in war, for the Delawares were great and brave warriors, feared by the other nations; the corn-pestle and hoe that they should engage in agriculture. The calabash[48] with oil was to be used to cleanse the ears of the other nations, that they might attend to good and not to evil counsel. With the medicine or beson they were to heal those who were walking in foolish ways that they might come to their senses and incline their hearts to peace.

The Delaware nation is thus looked to for the preservation of peace and entrusted with the charge of the great belt of peace and the chain of friendship which they must take care to preserve inviolate and which they bear on their shoulders at its middle, the other nations and the Europeans holding the ends.

Thus it was brought about that the Delawares should be the cousins of the Six Nations and were made by them to be the women. Such a state of things was preserved until 1755, when a war broke out between the Indians and the white people into

which the Delawares were enticed by the Six Nations. The woman's dress of the Delaware nation was shortened so as to reach only to the knees and a hatchet was given into their hands for defense. More than this, on the occasion of a council held during the same war, near Pittsburg, the Six Nations proposed to take the woman's dress away altogether and clothe them with the breech-clout, saying they could well see that the dress was a hindrance, inasmuch as the Delawares did not enter heartily into the war, being well aware that the Six Nations only sought their ruin. This, therefore, was not approved of by the Delawares, one of their chiefs rising to say to the Six Nations, "Why do you wish to rob the woman of her dress? I tell you that if you do, you will find creatures in it that are ready to bite you."

The Six Nations who had betrayed the Delawares into a war with the white people, at the last fell upon them themselves at the instigation of Sir William Johnson, taking many captives, especially of the Monsy [Monsey] tribe, whom they delivered over to Johnson, destroying and ravaging their towns on the Susquehanna and killing their cattle.[48½] The Delawares will not easily forget this piece of treachery and there is and remains a national hostility between these nations. In this present war the Delawares have done much to avenge themselves.

With the Mohicanders and Woapanose[49] the Six Nations also carried on wars for a long time; through the instrumentality of white people peace was eventually declared between them at Albanien.[50]

Concerning the country in which the Delawares formerly lived, viz., in Pennsylvania and Jersey, it is unnecessary to add anything, as these regions are well known. Along the Susquehanna, where our Indians lived, that is, at Friedenshütten,[51] the country is beautiful and the soil good along the river, but away from the river in the heart of the country it is very mountainous and of no use to the Indians except for the chase. Where the Indians would prepare land and plant, the soil must be of the best. In many cases where the Europeans would think it possible to have fine farms, the Indians would not look at the soil.

In this region they found deer, elk and bear hunting good, as also beaver, fox and raccoon in plenty. The Susquehanna is well stocked with fish. The chief fish are the Rock fish,[52] regarded as one of the best fish, having large scales and often weighing from ten to forty pounds; the Shad[53] or May-fish which in the spring of the year come up the rivers in great numbers, at which time they are caught by the hundreds and thousands with nets made of wild vines; the Yellow Perch,[54] as its name suggests of yellowish color, having sharp prickles along the back, a narrow head and sharp teeth like the pike,[55] which also abounds; the Horn-fish[56] with a long bill like that of a duck, only narrower, having very sharp teeth. This fish is not eaten by the Indians. Further, there are trout[57] in the creeks in great numbers in winter and spring, as also in the Susquehanna. There are large eels[58] and various smaller fish, such as Catfish, Sunfish and others.

In the spring of the year 1765 two seals[59] were shot by the Indians at Wajomick. As the like had never been seen there before, these caused much astonishment among the Indians of that region. Many were summoned to witness the marvel. After they had sufficiently expressed their astonishment, a council was called to consider whether it would be proper to eat them or not. An old Indian arose and observed as God had sent them they could not but be good to eat, even though they had not seen such animals before. They, accordingly, prepared for a feast and all who were assembled partook of the seals and found them a palatable dish. These seals had unquestionably come from the sea and had come up the river several hundred miles.

The region under consideration has this peculiarity above the country to the south that it has great swamps. A swamp is the name given to such a place where the sun never shines because of the dense thicket and which even in the middle of summer is always wet and cool. In such places the beech, white pine and spruce grow well. The Six Nations, to the north, are surrounded with such swamps. Hence, one must go a journey of many days through the wilderness before their

habitations can be reached and is obliged to climb over many fallen trees. Near the home of the Six Nations there are also many cedar swamps — not the red cedar but the white[60] — and swamps of this sort are the wildest and darkest regions, home of the black bears, which the Mingoes — Indians belonging to the Six Nations — catch in wooden traps. Otherwise, there is in that region little or no game, save the beaver and fur-skinned animals. A few moose are found, though those that are shot have generally come from Canada.[61] Hence, the Mingoes, besides cultivating the soil, mainly for growing corn — this being the work of the women — subsist largely on fish, for fish may be caught the year round.[62] Salmon are deemed the best and most valuable fish in these parts. They have red spots like the trout. In the autumn they go up the little creeks where they are easily caught. I have found carrying two of them a good load. Salmon fishing is carried on by the Indians through the whole summer.

Besides this they catch eels[63] in the fall, which are a different variety from those found in this region, the head being small and sharply pointed. In the fall, when they go out of the rivers into the lakes, they are caught in baskets by the thousand in a single night. Dried, they may be kept a long time. They are so fat that when fried it is as though bacon were being fried. In the matter of salt, Indians of that country do not suffer want, for there are in various places salt-springs which supply them more abundantly than I have seen elsewhere.

All rivers and waters of that region empty into either Lake Ontario, of which the St. Lawrence is the outlet, or into Lake Erie, which pours into Lake Ontario after the waters have leaped over the falls of Niagara. Upon both bodies of water the English have large vessels bearing cannon which are deemed a necessity for the defense of trade with the Indians.

As I have not seen the cataract,[64] though I have more than once heard it described by Indians who have seen it, yet could give no very accurate account of it not being able to measure its height, I will enter upon no description of the phenomenon, particularly, as correct description may be found in various books. As Indians who have been there relate, the waters

shoot out over a precipice so perpendicular that Indians find it possible to go hither and thither on the rocks under the water. Fish that plunge over the falls are killed. Wild geese, ducks and other birds that come too near the cataract in their flight are, through air currents started by the stream, drawn into the waters to their destruction. Hence, the Indians may always find good food there. Some Mingoes fishing above the falls on one occasion were dragged into the current. All their exertions to reach the shore were in vain. As they drew helplessly near the cataract they threw everything away, seated themselves, drew their blankets over their heads and plunged into the abyss. Others on shore watched them, but were unable to render any aid. Two others narrowly escaped the same fate. Seized by the swift current, they succeeded in working their way toward the island,[65] which is a mass of rocks bearing bushes and a few trees on the verge line of the falls, a considerable distance from either shore; nearing the island they both sprang out of the canoe into the water, one of them managing to catch hold of a little tree that hung down into the water, the other seizing the legs of the first. Having safely drawn themselves up on the rock, they spent four days and nights there, unable to make those whom they could see on shore hear their cries because of the roar of the waters. At last they were seen. The French, at that time in possession of Canada and, therefore, also of Niagara, did their utmost to save them, letting themselves float down in a canoe to the island for this purpose. Working back from the island they kept the canoe pointed toward it, in order that should they be unable to make headway against the stream it might have been possible to reach the island again. The shore was reached in safety.

Their canoes are made of birch bark, many small pieces being sewed together with exceeding neatness. Being very light they are often carried many miles across the country. In them they cross the Lakes, and as they are so light, less water is dashed into them by the waves than would be the case with a European boat.

There are various smaller lakes in this country. Oneider[66] Lake is thirty-two miles long and eight miles broad. Cayuger[67] Lake is about the same size. In the Sennecker country I saw

several that are larger than either of the two named.[68] Inasmuch as the Mingoes do not change their place of residence as the Delawares are accustomed to do, who never remain many years in one place, one sees orchards of large, old apple trees near all their towns.[69] The Six Nations lived in these parts long before the advent of the whites. About the year 1600 the French waged many wars with them, at the last making peace. They live in about a straight line from east to west. The easternmost are the Mohoks,[70] few in number, who live for the most part among white people. Next to these live the Oneider and Tuscarores. The Onondager occupy the middle, where the great council is held, to which representatives come from all places. Further to the west is the dwelling place of the Cayugers and beyond them are the Senneckers, the westernmost. Wiondats or Hurons, who live partly in Sandusky, at the western end of Lake Erie, and partly in Detroit, are not counted in with the Six Nations, though they are allied with them. Their language bears greatest resemblance to that of the Mingoes.

Last year, 1779, the Six Nations were driven out of their land by the Americans and all their towns and settlements were destroyed, a fate they had never before experienced.[71] Winter in that region is usually very severe and the snow very deep, as a rule. The soil is rich and fertile. Indians there plant a different variety of corn from that used here. It ripens earlier. The kind planted here along the Muskingum would not mature in those parts.[72]

The Six Nations have ever been a war-like people, unable to preserve peace. There are few nations with whom they have not at some time had war. It is not too much for them to travel in parties five or six hundred miles into an enemy's country, to hide then in the woods for many days, even weeks, that they may catch hostile braves, though they must, in so doing, suffer hunger, not being able to shoot any game lest they be betrayed. When a deed planned has been accomplished they hurry away. If they can bring back a captive or a scalp they regard themselves as amply rewarded for all weariness and need they have suffered and danger to which they have been exposed. Had they not, with the captives taken, replaced those of their own

numbers who had perished in the endless wars, they had, long ere this, died out. As it is they have degenerated and are a very different people from what they once were. As all the Indian nations treat their captives in much the same manner, I will refer to this matter elsewhere.

Concerning the region in question, I merely wish to add that it is well watered by rivers and lakes so that it is possible to get almost anywhere by water. In the matter of trade, this is of great importance, though trade among the Six Nations amounts to little, as they do not secure much by the chase. The nations dwelling beyond them engage much more in trade. Each of the Six Nations has its language, the Cayuger and Sennecker and particularly the Tuscarores, who came from Maryland[73] when they lived by the sea, speaking tongues very different from the rest. In the main, however, all these dialects form one speech and the Indians of the Six Nations are all able to understand one another. The language of the Delawares, on the other hand, differs so much from that of the Six Nations, that they cannot understand each other. It is much easier to acquire the language of the Mingoes than that of the Delawares.

The country of the Six Nations is not mountainous but very level, so-called hills being of but little account. Indeed, the hills and elevations partake of the swampy nature of the lowland, even on the heights one is in the same kind of dense thicket as in the valleys, in which the sun rarely reaches the ground.

Concerning the St. Lawrence River, it is yet to be noted that its navigation is considerable, even though there are many rapids, which render the unloading of boats necessary. From Quebeck light boats are used as far as Fontenac[74] at the eastern end of Lake Ontario, a distance of three hundred and eighty miles. Thence, cargo is taken in sloops across the lake to Niagara at the western end, a distance of two hundred and twenty miles. From this point it is taken nine miles across country to navigable water and thus it is carried through Lake Erie to Detroit, a further distance of two hundred miles.

From this digression I return again to the Alleghene or Ohio Region. This is separated from Pennsylvania and the other colonies by the Alleghene mountains. The most considerable mountains to be passed on the road (from the land of the Delawares) to Pittsburg are the Sidling Hill, the Alleghene Mountain and Laurel Hill.[75] In other directions there are more, since the mountain chains at times divide and receive different names in the different regions in which they lie, though they belong to the same system. In Pennsylvania they are called the Blue Ridge, viz., the Little and the Great Blue Ridge, the latter being also called the Wolf's Mountain, on account of the number of wolves which infest it; and in the country about Tulpehocken and Thürnstein[76] as is to be seen on the chart, and another name is Jacob's Height.[77] The Thürnstein belongs, therefore, to the Alleghene Mountains, as appears not only from its position but also from similarity in mass, breadth and height to the other parts of that range.

This mountain chain forms a boundary between this region and that to the east even in the matter of weather conditions. In Pennsylvania the east wind generally brings rain. This is not the case in Ohio, where the east wind rarely blows and then hardly above twelve hours at a time. The south and west winds bring rain, and it even rains sometimes with a northwest wind. In Pennsylvania northwest wind brings clear and fine weather. All thunder storms rise either with the south, west or northwest winds and a land rain from the west sometimes continues for a week.

The Alleghene River rises in a swamp lying between it and the Susquehanna, about a hundred and fifty miles to the north of Pittsburg. About one hundred miles to the north of that place the Venango (in the Indian tongue *Onenge*) empties into it. This river is the passage to Presquisle,[78] Lake Erie and Niagara.[79] On the journey to these places there is a portage of fifteen miles. Formerly the French carried on considerable trade along this route and all their provisions were in this way brought to Fort du Quesne, now called Pittsburg, when this place was in their possession.

At Pittsburg the Monongehella, which takes its rise in Virginia, enters into the river. In the Indian tongue the name of this river was Mechmenawungihilla, which signifies a high bank, which is ever washed out and therefore collapses. Ten miles up this river on Turtoise[80] Creek General Braddock was defeated by the French and Indians in 1755 and at Fort Sigonier,[81] fifty-four miles to the east of Pittsburg, at various times during those wars many people were killed by the Indians.

The Alleghene is a navigable river and as one says in English, "of gentle current." Large vessels may pass from Pittsburg down the Ohio to Illinoise and into the Mississippi, which is fifteen hundred miles, and to a French island, New Orleans, in the last named river. The Ohio empties into the Mississippi fourteen hundred miles below Pittsburg. Previous to this war, the east side of this river was already thickly settled, but since the Indians have massacred so many, most settlers have retreated. Further down, about six hundred miles from Pittsburg, also on the east bank of the river there is a large settlement of the whites on the Kentuke[82] River. These also suffered much from the Indians in the late war.

Up to six or seven years ago the Delawares lived along the Alleghene, but after the Six Nations had sold a considerable portion on the eastern side of the river to the whites, they retreated to the Muskingum, where they now live. This stream rises near Cajahages[83] in a small lake, and the Cajahage River empties into Lake Erie only a short distance from its source.

When one thinks of the number of rivers and creeks that flow into the lakes, one ceases to wonder at the existence of the Great Lakes. Lake Huron, Michillimakinac, Michigan and Superior, which lie to the north of Detroit, all find an outlet in Lake Erie and this in turn in Lake Ontario, whence the St. Lawrence River rises. In all these lakes no current is observable, but their waters are clear and transparent, abounding in fish.

Traders have journeyed northward from Detroit through Lake Superior and beyond to the neighborhood of Hudson Bay in the interest of trade with the Indians. Such a journey usually takes a year.

The Muskingum (meaning Elk's Eye, so called because of the numbers of elk that formerly fed on its banks, these animals being found there even at the present time) empties into the Ohio two hundred miles below Pittsburg. It is navigable for canoes or light boats, which the Indians use upon it, from its source to its mouth.

The country is diversified with hillocks and gentle risings, but no great mountains are to be seen to the west of the Alleghene Mountains. The Indians are, therefore, yet in the possession of the best land. Along the creeks and rivers the soil is very rich and commonly called "The Bottoms." This sort of land is chosen by the Indians for agricultural purposes not only because it is easily worked, but also because it yields aboundant crops for many years. When, however, their fields begin to grow grass they leave them and break new land, for they regard it as too troublesome to root out the grass. For winter crops such soil would be too rich and would yield little or nothing. But corn and all else raised by the Indians thrives in rich soil.

The higher lying land, generally of medium richness, though some of this also is extraordinarily fertile, is the best for winter grains, and as but little of it is stony soil it would be difficult to find a spot that could not be cultivated to advantage.

Concerning the climate, I can only speak from a twelve years' acquaintance with the country. In the summer it is quite warm, especially in July and August, which are the two hottest months; woolen garments can hardly be worn at this season of the year. The winter is generally very mild. The snow is never deep, nor does it remain long on the ground. Last winter, 1779-80, which was very severe in Pensilvania, snow fell once to a depth of two feet. In eight days this was gone, though the ground was covered with snow most of the time between New Year and February. As I have neither chart nor instrument, I am unable to say in what degree of latitude it lies, though I reckon it to be about the same as that of Philadelphia. A distance of a hundred English miles north or south makes a very perceptible difference in temperature; for in Sandusky on Lake Erie, it is much colder and the snow is much deeper than here in the Muskingum Valley and along the Scioto,[84] which empties into

the Ohio three hundred miles below Pittsburg, one hundred miles from here, snow hardly ever remains on the ground, and the ground is bare for most of the winter. In autumn and even up to Christmas and New Year or beyond that time, there is little frost, and even if in a clear night the ground should freeze, it thaws soon after sunrise. There are very few clear, beautiful days in the winter-time; much of the time it rains, occasionally it snows. After a few clear days a change may be looked for. If there has been quite a snow, rain may follow. Yet the Muskingum, not having a strong current, is frozen over when there are several cold nights in succession. Usually this happens once during the winter, rarely oftener.

The Indians make little provision to feed their cattle in winter, for as there is no deep snow and the weather is generally mild, cattle and particularly horses can forage for themselves, finding feed in the woods. In the bottoms grass never quite dies away but remains green toward the end of March and beginning of April grows again.

Of wild fruits the strawberries,[85] much like those in Europe, are the first to ripen in spring. Blackberries,[86] raspberries,[87] bilberries,[88] are also found, though not native to these parts, for these varieties grow best on hills and in not too rich soil. Further, there are wild gooseberries[89] and currants,[90] the latter black in color and with a somewhat different taste from that of the red which are cultivated in gardens, though having the same sort of leaves. There are two varieties of cranberries;[91] one grows in swamps on low bushes not as high as the bilberry bushes, the other on small trees. For both the Indians have one name (Rakilun). Of the wild cherry, there are three kinds, not found in Europe at all, and having a very good taste. The one sort[92] grows on high thick trees, which are found in large numbers and yield a very fine red wood that is well suited for cabinet work. The other kinds[93] grow on bushes. On the islands in the Susquehanna, cherries[94] are found, very like the cultivated fruit, having about the same form and taste. The only difference is that they grow neither on trees nor bushes, but on vines, which lie on the ground and when lifted up appear laden with fruit.

These grow on very stony ground near the water, where the sunshine is particularly hot. In these parts I have not come across this variety.

Besides, there are mulberries,[95] plums,[96] and wild grapes of three sorts, those growing on high ground[97] or hills being the best; those[98] found in the bottoms are very sour. Crabapples[99] grow in great plenty and the Indians, being very fond of sharp and sour fruit, eat them in abundance.

Of nuts there are found: (1) The well known hazel nut,[100] (2) the hickory nut,[101] found in great plenty in some years and which the Indians gather in large quantities and use not only as they find them — they have a very sweet taste — but also extract from them a milky juice used in different foods and very nourishing. Sometimes they extract an oil by first roasting the nut in the shell under hot ashes and pounding them to a fine mash, which they boil in water. The oil swimming on the surface is skimmed off and preserved for cooking and other purposes. (3) The walnut of two varieties, the white walnut[102] deriving its name from the color of the wood which, strictly speaking, is gray, and the black walnut,[103] of which the wood is dark-brown, sometimes even shading into violet. The latter is very much used by cabinet makers for tables, chests and other things. The nuts, the one variety having a very hard shell, are eaten, but are very oily.

The papa[104] tree, which I have seen nowhere else than along the Ohio, bears a very beautiful fruit, in form and size resembling a middle sized cucumber, of an agreeable smell and taste.

Wild laurel[105] is found in the bottoms in great abundance; the berries are smaller than those found elsewhere, but have about the same taste. Of these, even the whites make use. They grow on bushes, the wood of which has a strong spicy odor and taste, used by the Indians for medicine and called by the English, spicewood.[106]

Chestnuts[107] are very plentiful in some years. The Indians gather them and prepare various dishes with them. A larger variety of chestnuts[108] is native to these parts, but these are not fit to eat.

Of roots, wild potatoes[109] and wild parsnips are found. Bread is baked of both, which one may be driven to eat by pangs of hunger. The Indians look for both roots when famine threatens and the supply of corn runs low, sometimes sustaining life with them for a considerable period.

A kind of bean, called by the Indians earth-bean, because it grows close to the ground, is also found and tastes when boiled, like the chestnut.

Wild citrons[110] or May apples, grow on a stalk not over a foot high. The Indians enjoy eating the fruit, which has a sour but pleasant taste. The roots are a powerful poison which, who eats, dies in a few hours' time unless promptly given an emetic.

Watermelons and muskmelons, which grow by culture only, are very refreshing in summer. Of some watermelons the meat is yellow and the seeds black; of others the meat and seeds red.

The forests contain mainly oak trees; other kinds of trees are, however, also found. They are not dense, but generally sufficiently open to allow comfortable passage on foot or horseback. There are five varieties of oak, white-oak,[110a] black-oak,[110b] red-oak,[110c] Spanish-oak,[110d] and swamp-oak.[100e] The red-oak has very narrow, small leaves and bears little colored acorns, such as I have seen nowhere else. Besides these, hickory trees of three sorts,[111] ash,[112] white and red beech,[113] sassafras,[114] in some places very thick, poplar[115] and chestnut[116] are the kinds generally found on high lying land. In the bottoms there are walnut, linden,[117] maple,[118] water-beech,[119] that grow near to the water and often attain great height and girth, hawthorne[120] and crab-apple.[121]

The Hoop-ash,[122] a little known tree and found only in this region, has this name because barral-hoops are made of the wood. It grows in the bottoms and is of little use otherwise, as the wood easily rots.

The Honey-locust[123] is likewise found in the bottoms. This tree but little resembles the locust of Pensilvanien, except that there is some similarity in foliage, though the leaves are smaller and finer. The trunks of the thickest trees are two feet in diameter on the average. The trunk is covered with thorns that stand straight out, are about six inches long and very sharp.

The wood is red, very hard and heavy and does not rot very quickly in the ground. It bears pods that fall off in the autumn. Besides the seeds, the pods contain a kind of molasses or honey, thus accounting for the name Europeans have given the tree. The Indians call it the thorn-tree on account of its many thorns.

Sugar trees are usually found in low, rich soil, sometimes, also, on higher land and in more northerly regions even on hills, where, however, the soil is very moist. The Delawares call this tree the *Achsunnamunschi,* that is, the stone-tree, on account of the hardness of the wood. The Mingoes give it a name signifying the sugar tree, as do the Europeans. From the sap of the tree sugar is boiled. This is done by the Indians in the early part of the year, beginning in February and continuing to the end of March or beginning of April, according as spring is early or late. In this region it is possible to boil sugar even in fall after there has been frost and in winter, if the season is mild. For as soon as the trees thaw a little the sap begins to run and then the trees are tapped. As, however, at that time of the year the weather is very uncertain and it is possible that there should be a cold wave at any time, it is hardly worth the effort to make the necessary arrangements and is hardly ever done, unless some one be driven of necessity to provide sugar for the household. This, we ourselves have been obliged to do and the sisters of our congregation have already boiled a quantity of sugar for congregational love-feasts, shortly before Christmas.

Spring is the proper season for boiling sugar. The following preparations are made. A number of small troughs are made for receiving the sap. Usually, the Indians make them of wood, cutting them out roughly with a hatchet. Some Indians are able to make twenty or thirty of them in a day. Some do not go to so much trouble, but make dishes of the bark or bast of a tree, which serve quite as well, but are good for no more than one season. According as they have large or numerous kettles and troughs they can make much sugar, for there is no lack of trees. Besides the smaller troughs and dishes,

there must be several of larger size in which the sap is collected. If one is well supplied with utensils, there is this advantage, that on days when the sap flows freely much may be collected, which will enable one to keep on boiling when the sap does not flow plentifully. The sap flows most plentifully when it freezes at night and the sun shines during the day. At night it commonly ceases to run. The same is true in case of warm or rainy weather. As soon as there has been frost the sap runs again. There is a time in the boiling season when sap once or twice begins to flow in considerable quantities, both day and night. When this occurs the height of the sugar season is on. The sap which flows after this is not so good and yields less sugar. The last sugar secured in the spring is always of inferior quality. Hence, toward the end of the season no sugar, but only molasses is in most cases boiled.

The length of the season is determined by the weather conditions. If spring is late and night frosts continue for a considerable time, the flowing season is the longer. With the early advent of warm weather the season terminates very quickly. The shortest season lasts about a month, the longest nearly two months.

The thickest of the trees are two feet, sometimes more, in diameter. Those of middle size, which are still young, have many branches and are growing, yield the most sap. Experience has shown that such a tree will yield about sixty gallons of sap while sugar is being boiled, and thereafter another sixty for molasses. Seven to eight gallons of sap are regarded as necessary for a pound of sugar. Such a tree may, therefore, yield more than seven pounds of sugar and seven quarts of molasses. It has also been found that a tree which one year has yielded very freely, gives but little the next, and on the other hand, a tree that has yielded but little one season, gives largely the next. The sap, which is of a brownish color and becomes darker the longer it boils, is boiled until it gets to be of the consistency of molasses, is then poured off and kept. When a sufficient quantity of this consistency has been secured, it is boiled over a slow fire until it becomes sugar. It is important to boil

this over a slow fire, for the sap readily boils over and is easily burned. If the boiled sap is stirred until cold, the sugar becomes granulated and is as fine as the West Indian sugar. As the Indians lack the dishes and do not care to take the time to prepare it in this way, they usually form it into cakes, put it in a kettle or dish, or in default of these, on a stone and let it cool, when it becomes hard and may be easily preserved in baskets. If the troughs and kettles used for collecting the sap are made of wood that does not give color, the sugar becomes the finer, but if it gives color, as does the white walnut, the sugar becomes black the first year; thereafter, this is not the case.

When everything is prepared, an oblique incision is made in the tree and at the lower end of the same a thin wedge, three or four inches broad, is forced in, whence the sap runs down into the vessel placed below. According as the sap runs freely or contrarywise, the dishes must be emptied at given intervals, day and night. According to the manner of making the incision one may determine whether a tree shall be good for many or few years. If large openings are made the tree is soon spoiled and nothing is gained, for the sap runs no faster. In this matter, however, the Indians are very careless, for trees are numerous and after they have used one place for three or four years, they seek out another. There is, strange to say, no tree among all the rest so hardy as the sugar-tree, for even if the stem is cut all around, so that it can no longer be used, it does not die. Hence, the Indians very reluctantly make their fields where there are sugar-trees, as these are not to be exterminated, except they be cut down. This, however, is true that when trees have been used for eight or nine years they give less sap than formerly, as they are full of incisions and scars. An incision having been made in a tree in the spring of the year and the sap having flowed for some time, the incision needs to be enlarged, though only a little. This may be done two or three times in a season.

As the Indians have trees in abundance, their labors are richly rewarded. For if a man owns a kettle of ten or twelve gallons and has a few smaller ones with which to keep the large one filled, it will be possible for him to make several

hundred pounds of sugar in a season and a quantity of molasses, besides.

Sugar boiling is chiefly the employment of women. Even widows are able to earn enough by it to secure clothing and whatever else they may need. While the women are thus engaged, the men hunt and supply meat. As the deer skins are of little value at that season of the year, they generally hunt bear, which they seek in the rocks, hollow trees or thickets in their winter quarters. Bears are at this time generally fat.

Dog-wood[124] is also found in these parts. The rind of the root is used in the apothecary shops in place of Jesuit-Bark.[125] This tree grows to be neither large nor high.

Red Cedars[126] are found along the Muskingum finer and larger than I have seen elsewhere in North America. They do not grow on the mountains as in Pensilvanien, where they are stunted and scrubby, but in the bottoms.

The spruce tree[127] is neither a fir nor a pine, according to my view, but something between the two. In this region the tree is found only occasionally along the creeks and rivers. In more northerly districts, however, there are great spruce forests and swamps.

Pitch-pine[128] is rarely found here and white pine[129] not at all; a hundred miles to the south one may see many specimens of either variety. Fir-trees[130] I have seen near the source of the Ohio and pines[131] not far from Bethlehem, across the Blue Mountains in the great swamp.

Vines are very numerous, especially in the bottoms. They climb up the trees and look like anchor strands, often being thicker than these. The grapes they bear have a sour taste. Those which grow on the highlands and only have short, tender shoots, being frequently disturbed in their growth by brush-fires, have the best grapes. These have a good taste. Experience has taught that good wine may be made of both kinds.

The elm tree,[132] already noticed above, is of no particular use, for the wood rots quickly, except that the Mingoes make bast canoes and kettles for sugar boiling of the bark, which is very tough

The bark of stone birch[133] trees, as of many others, the Indians pound fine, mix with water and use as a medicine. This is the only variety of birch trees here. In Pensilvanien there are birch trees like those of Europe, though they do not grow to any size.

Aspen trees[134] are also found, though not in great numbers nor everywhere. One kind of tree is found here that I have seen nowhere else. The wood is soft and yellowish. The leaves are smooth and oval-shaped. The Indians call it *Wisewemínscki,* the yellow tree.[135]

Of oil wells I have seen three kinds, (1) wells that have an outlet; (2) wells that have no outlet, but are stagnant pools; (3) wells in creeks and even in the Ohio at two different points, one hundred and fifty miles from one another.

In the wells which have an outlet, oil and water together exude from the earth and where these flow grass and soil become oily. When there is no means of discharge one sees nothing more than oil welling up, which, if none has been taken off for some time, floats an inch or more in depth on the water. In the creeks it is possible to see some of the places where the oil flows, others not, for often the current carries the oil with it at such rate that you see the oil over all the surface of the water. In the Ohio there are, also, such places in the region of the oil wells. Here the current is very gentle and the Indians skim off the oil, though it is not easy to do this as the current, even though not swift, keeps carrying it along. Such places are usually revealed by the strong odor. Even though the water of a river keeps carrying away the oil, one may smell it at a distance of a quarter of a mile from the well. The soil near an oil well is poor, either a cold, clayey ground, or if it is near a creek, a poor quality of sand at the top. Neither good grass or wood will grow nearby, hardly anything more than a few stunted oak trees.

If the Indians wish to collect oil, which they prefer to do where the well has no discharge, as it is there most easily secured, they first throw away the old oil floating on top, as it has a stronger odor than that which wells up fresh from the earth.[136]

The odor is somewhat like that of tar, though not very much so. They stir the water violently then let it settle and become clear. The more the pool is stirred the more abundantly does the oil flow. When it is clear they scoop it into kettles, and, as it is impossible to avoid getting some water, boil it and preserve it for use. They use it as a medicine in all sorts of cases for external application, thus for tooth-ache, head-ache, swelling, rheumatism, strained joints. Some also take it internally and it appears to have hurt no one in this way. Some, indeed, declare that the oil flows from the coal deposits, but this is not likely, for in the first place, there is no sign of pit coal to be seen in this region — one sees nothing more than poor sandstone and, in the second place, in other parts where there is much pit coal, as for example, along the Muskingum, no sign of oil is to be seen. Were the oil to be found there, the Indians would know of it, for they value it highly and have looked for it, but found none. Most probably it comes out of the earth. It is brownish in color and may be used in lamps, for it burns well.

Salt springs are to be found both along the Muskingum and along the Ohio. Of this salt the Indians make little use; they prefer to buy it from the whites, even though they have to pay a high price for it owing to the fact that it has to be brought a considerable distance from the seaports. Moreover, they use very little salt and seem not to require it. They often eat their food unsalted, even though they may have the salt, until they feel a longing for it.

These salt springs are usually to be found on the bank of a creek or even in the middle of the creek on a sand-bank, the fresh water flowing on both sides. The Indians have on occasion boiled a considerable quantity of salt in a short time at such a well, so that it would appear worth the labor to get it, especially as it is so expensive.

There are, also, many salt licks to which cattle, horses and game go in large numbers. These are generally springs that have salt or saltpetre[137] in them.

The common sort of stones in this region along the Ohio are the sandstones. Some are very hard, others soft. They

are, for the most part, of a gray, fine sand and make as good whetstones as one might wish. Rocks you meet occasionally along the Ohio, but away from the river and here along the Muskingum very few, even most of, the mountains and hills are not rocky.

Pit-coal is found in abundance, but as there is no lack of wood it is little used and hardly thought of by the Indians. In Pittsburg the coal is used in fire-places and by blacksmiths.

A kind of stone, black in color, is found here, that is easily worked and cut. It has no sand in its composition and the Indians make tobacco pipes of it, some doing very neat work.

There is also a kind of stone, blue in color, which is very hard. It somewhat resembles the limestone of Pensilvanien, but examination has shown it to be different. Limestone has not yet been found in this region.

A mineralogist would find many more varieties to describe, to which I am unable to give even the names, especially along the shores of the river, where all kinds may be seen, green, yellow, blue, red and black. About ore I know little or nothing concerning this region. The Indians believed themselves to have found gold and silver, but what they produced as precious ore, because it resembled this somewhat, on the test and examination of whites was found to be sulphurous substance.[138] Whatever glitters, the Indians are apt to look upon at once as being gold or silver.

The Cherokees, who through the years have had much intercourse with the Delawares, brought with them many tobacco pipes for trade. These they made of quite white stone, probably white marble.[139] When completed they blackened the pipes and in such a way that they retained their color. These pipes are made so neatly that they are no heavier than the European pipes.

From the Mississippi the Indians bring red marble, whenever they come from that direction. Of this pipes are also made. Such pipes, however, are as a rule to be seen only in the possession of chiefs or captains, for not many of them are to be had. A pipe of this sort is generally used in council or on solemn occasions. This is carried about by the chief counsellor, each

one present draws a few whiffs of smoke and this is called smoking the peace-pipe.

There are four kinds of clay. There is the white, which is almost like chalk and with which, when dry, one can write as with chalk.[140] Another variety is quite black. This, however, becomes quite white when burned. Besides these, gray and yellow clays are found. A sort of yellow earth, rather of an orange tinge is found, of which the Indians, especially the warriors, make a fine color by burning.[141] With this they paint themselves and they are particularly careful that the head shall be always red. It is not too much for the Wiondats to come here to Tuscarawi, a distance of at least a hundred miles, to supply themselves with this red coloring matter.

Concerning plants and roots of medicinal virtue, it would be possible, if one were to devote himself to inquiry, to secure a great deal of information from the Indians, for what one of these does not know another does, each man and woman having some knowledge in this direction, some more, some less. Hence, the custom that a patient who has consulted an Indian and secured a medicine from him without, however, being benefited, will go immediately to another; if no relief is obtained through his advice, the patient goes to a third, a fourth until he finds one whose medicine helps. For many ailments they have very good remedies, e. g., for rheumatism. In respect to this affliction I have witnessed instances where they have effected a thorough cure and not only once or twice. At times they can secure desired results with only two or three kinds of roots, at other times more are required. If a simple remedy does not afford relief, they may use twenty or more kinds of roots. Even in such cases I know of cures having been effected. In treating rheumatism, bathing and sweating play a great part.

They have remedies even for fevers. When a patient has been given a dose, they are generally able to tell from its workings whether he will recover or die. If he does not retain the medicine, this is regarded as a sign that he will hardly recover. I have paid some attention to this and like cases of treatment and found that the Indians have generally been correct in their

predictions. In one important respect, according to my opinion, they make mistakes, namely, in not properly measuring doses and often needlessly torturing patients. Hence, it is that in connection with the external hurts, where over-treatment is less likely to occur, they have the better results, as is the case with rheumatism, for which they use only external applications. One Indian knows of good remedies for one disease or kind of injury, another another. Owing to the fact that they rarely reveal their knowledge to each other, much of the practical knowledge is lost.

In the matter of diseases peculiar to women, the women know a number of remedies, which usually act quickly and well, as in the case of hard labor, which sometimes occurs, though not frequently, and in other troubles. If mothers cannot suckle children for want of milk, they are able, by use of a drink, to increase the supply.[142]

In the use of poisonous roots the Indians are well versed, and there are many melancholy examples where they have by their use destroyed themselves or others. If a case of poisoning is taken in time, the effect of the poisonous root may be prevented by inducing vomiting. In case assistance is rendered too late, death follows, as a rule, in a few hours. There are poisonous roots that operate by slow degrees, in some cases illness may last a year or longer.

The so-called Poison Vine[143] grows plentifully in the bottoms. It climbs up the trees, much as a grape vine will, the main stem becoming as thick as an arm. Some are affected with swelling in the face and body if they touch it, others, even when the wind blows over it upon them. This is very painful until cured. Others do not suffer from the vine at all. This holds good of Indians as of others.

There are some poisonous trees.[144] These do not attain great height. They have a milky juice under the bark which is very poisonous.

The bark of many different kinds of trees is used by the Indians for preparing medicine. Occasionally, you will meet an Indian who has knowledge in this kind of remedies, but knows nothing of roots or herbs. With the white walnut bark,[145]

used externally and internally, they effect many cures. Laid upon flesh wounds this relieves pain at once, prevents swelling and accelerates healing. Applied externally in case of tooth-ache, head-ache or pain in the limbs, this brings speedy relief.

Beyond question there are many roots and herbs not found in Europe; perhaps it would be safe to say that this is true of most here found, but as I am no authority in this subject and know no names, except perhaps the Indian designations, I will add nothing further about roots and herbs. Doubtless, there are books from which one might get more information than it is in my power to give.

The following quadrupeds are to be found along the Ohio: In the first place, there are the deer,[146] whose skins are much used in barter and trade by the Indians. Their horns are not straight, but bent toward each other and have prongs. From May until September they are red, after that they lose the red hair and their hide is covered with long, gray hair, which is their winter coat. At about the beginning of the year they shed their horns; new ones grow in spring. These are at first and until they attain their full size, covered with a thin skin, which peels off when the horns harden. The tail is about a foot long and stands up straight when they run. As the under side of the tail is white it is possible to see them running at a great distance. The young are born in June or about that time, are red, spotted with white, until in the fall when they become gray. Deer have young each spring, sometimes two. As, however, they are hunted so persistently at the call of trade, their numbers diminish with each year, even though the forests are of vast extent, for the hunters are many. A large buckskin is valued at a Spanish dollar; two doeskins are regarded as equal in value to one buckskin.[147]

The bear is quite black, has short ears, a thick head and quite a sharp snout.[148] It has but a very short tail and great strong claws on his feet. It can easily climb the trees and bring down chestnuts and acorns. This is done, however, only when these are not ripe and do not, therefore, fall down. They generally break off the branches, throw them down and then climb

down to consume the nuts. Where there is food and mast they are found. It is as if they knew that in this or that region it would be good for them to live. In the fall, when the Indians hunt the deer, they take no notice of the bears; otherwise they would spoil their fall hunting. They do, however, notice their tracks and whither they lead. At the end of December the bears, having fattened, seek their winter quarters, which they prepare in the trunks of hollow trees or in caves or the thickest part of the forest, where many old trees lie piled up. They leave their winter quarters in early spring, if they have young, of which there are generally two, not until May. During this period they are said to eat nothing, but to live on their own fat. When the deer hunt of the fall, at which season skins are best, is over, the Indians immediately prepare for the bear hunt. They are remarkably expert in finding out the haunts of these animals. If the bears are in hollow trees, it is frequently necessary to cut down the tree, as the bear will not leave his retreat otherwise. In case the bear comes out when they hammer on the tree and make a noise, they stand prepared with their guns to kill him as soon as most of his bulk is emerged. Their skins are no great object for trade, hence the Indians prefer to use them for their sleeping places, for which the long hair makes them peculiarly useful. There is likewise a kind of bear, much larger than the common bear, with much hair on the legs, but little on the bodies, which appear quite smooth.[149] The Indians call it the king of bears, for they have found by experience that many bears will willingly follow it. While all the bears are carnivorous, and, therefore, flesh of game kept by the Indians hanging on trees forms for them a welcome repast, or they are fond of feeding on swine they catch in the forest, this kind of bear is particularly voracious. Many instances are known where they have seized upon even defenseless Indian women and children. In more northerly regions, as, e. g., in the country of the Mingoes, these are more frequently found and they have killed many Indians.

Elk are in my estimation most like the European stag,[150] and I have often thought that they must be the same species and that what is here called the stag is the European fallow deer,

but as I have seen neither stag nor fallow deer in Europe I cannot speak authoritatively. I recognize that the English distinguish between the elk and the stag in Europe. They, also, shed their coat in spring and are reddish in color during the summer like the deer. In fall they are light gray and in winter dark gray. The bucks have long, heavy antlers with many prongs. These they shed each year as do the deer. The tail is quite short. As the skins are very thick and heavy and of no particular value, elk do not tempt the Indians to the chase. Occasionally, one is shot that happens near an Indian, but most of the flesh is left in the forest for beasts of prey, even though the animals are always fat, in summer as in winter and do not become lean, like the deer.

The buffaloes[151] are dark brown in color, covered with long hair, or rather soft down mixed with hair. Their legs are short, the body is very heavy. They have a hunch upon their backs, just above the shoulders. This diminishes toward the rear, hence, they appear much shorter from the back than from the front. They have a thick head and a long beard depends from the chin. Altogether, they present a terrible appearance. Their horns are short, but thick and quite black. The buffaloes are a good deal heavier and larger than cattle. One that I have seen was a yearling, raised by the Indians and quite tame; even this was the size of a small cow, that has already had calf. At one time these animals appeared in great numbers along the Muskingum, but as soon as the country begins to be inhabited by the Indians, they retire and are now only to be found near the mouth of the above named river. Along the banks of the Scioto and further south, both Indians and whites say that they may be seen in herds numbering hundreds. That is two or three hundred miles from here. If a buffalo cow is shot, its calf, if such it has, will stand quietly by until the huntsman has skinned its dam and then follow him into his hut, stay at his fire and not leave him. That this is true, I have living witnesses enough about me to testify.

The panther[152] has a head and face like a cat, its legs are short and the paws are armed with sharp claws. It is a beast of prey of uncommon strength. Its tail is long, compared with

that of the cat. Deer it is able to catch at will. If it spies one and is desirous of capturing it, the panther crawls along the ground behind fallen trees or through the thicket until it is sure of capturing the deer in one leap. Then it springs upon its prey, seizes it with its claws and does not release its hold until the victim is dead. If it misses its aim at the first spring, it never attempts a second. When the deer has been killed, the panther devours but a small part, leaving the rest. When again pressed by hunger it seeks new game. At a distance of ten yards from a tree, the panther can leap ten yards up the tree and leap the same distance from the tree. It is not known that a panther has ever done the Indians injury without provocation. Should an Indian get near the place where the young are kept, then he is in great danger and if he does not know what to do under such circumstances, is almost sure to lose his life. He must never turn his back upon the panther, thinking that he can escape. He must not take his eyes off the animal, and if he has not the courage to shoot, gently walk backward, until he is a good distance away. If he shoots and misses, then he is in imminent danger and must keep his eyes fixed on the panther. It has happened that in this way Indians have saved their lives. It has occurred that a bear has fought so long with a panther, near to where the latter had its young, that both fell dead. The skin of the panther is gray in color, mixed with reddish hair.

Wild cats, gray in color, are distinguished from the domestic cats in that they have hardly any tail.[153] They are beasts of prey, even invade the hunting lodges of the Indians, when the latter are out and if they find meat devour it.

There are three varieties of fox, red,[154] gray[155] and black.[156]

The raccoon[157] is somewhat larger than a common cat and has a pointed snout. Its forefeet bear some resemblance to hands and are used as such, for it digs up small mussels out of the sand, which form its food when there are no acorns or chestnuts to be had. Its hind legs resemble those of the bear. It is fattest in autumn and winter, when it lives in hollow logs like a bear, without seeking food. They do not hibernate as long as do the bears. In a severe winter it retires for two whole months,

otherwise, only four weeks. The flesh is wholesome and tastes like bears' meat and its skin is useful to hatters.

The otter[158] can live on land or in water. It often travels a considerable distance across the country from one creek or river to another.

The beaver[159] was formerly found in great numbers in this region, but since the Indians have learned from the whites to catch them in steel-traps,[160] they are more rarely found. A necessary thing in connection with the beaver-catch is a certain oil or spirit which the Indians prepare of various kinds of bark of trees and other aromatic things, which they place in the traps to decoy the beavers into them. The skins are always of considerable value. They are very industrious animals and for their size, of uncommon strength. Beaver dams of such dimensions are found in creeks, that it might be imagined that they had been built by human hands. Such dams they build when there are many together, for they work harmoniously, at night, in order to dam up the water and often put a considerable piece of land under water in course of their operations. In the middle of the dam they build their dwelling places that are raised above the water, wood and earth being the materials used. As their dens are in the middle of the lakes they cannot be easily reached. In the front part of the mouth they have four quite broad and very sharp teeth, two above and two below. With these they are able to gnaw through trees that are nearly a foot in diameter. When the tree is down they divide it into pieces of such size that they are able to manage them. These pieces carried into the water, they join together in such fashion that the water cannot tear them apart. I have myself seen in quite a large creek a beaver dam, in which the beavers were still undisturbed at home, so that I could observe their habits and work. The dam, extending straight across the creek, reached three feet above the water, so that it was possible to cross the creek dry shod, and put several acres of land under water. In another place, where the water had threatened to take another course, they had been obliged to build another dam, made of earth and branches of trees. Had this dam not been so far from human habitation, one might have thought that it had been constructed

by men. The animals are of a dark brown color, have short legs and broad feet, adapted to swimming and armed with short claws. The tail is broad and flat. At the end it is broadest, smooth, without any hair, and looks as though covered with fish scales. The tail furnshes the best flesh and is much liked by the Indians. It has an appearance different from the rest of the animal's flesh, being more like fish meat. As the skins always bring a good price, the Indians hunt these animals constantly.

The opossum is about as large as a small dog, of grayish white color and carnivorous.[161] If it finds a dead deer, it strikes into the carcass, lives there and devours it gradually. It climbs the trees and sleeps hanging to a branch by its tail,[162] which is bare of hair and quite round. Should one approach it unawares, it never attempts to escape but lies down as dead and makes no motion, though handled and turned. If one leaves it, the animal watches and creeps off slyly as soon as the enemy has retired some distance. It is not able to run swiftly. The female has a bag under her belly, in which she carries her young until they are too large for this receptacle, when they follow the mother. If she meets with a fallen tree in her passage, she either walks around or lifts her young, one by one, over the trunk and then proceeds on her journey. The flesh of the creature tastes like pork and is eaten by the English, rarely by the Indians.

The pole-cat[163] has white and black markings, a gentle and mild countenance. It goes out of the way for no one, and whoever approaches too near is ill rewarded for his curiosity. It has a special gland containing a fluid intolerably foetid. If one approaches too closely, the fluid is discharged and thrown in all directions with the tail. The offensive odor no one can bear and one is ready enough to get away. If one's person or clothes has been infected by the moisture, it is necessary to bathe and change before returning into company. Even dogs, when they kill the animal, find the stench unbearable. Yet the flesh of the creature is eaten by the Indians. It is said to be very good and not to have any offensive odor.

The porcupine[164] is not found along the Muskingum, seldom seen along the Ohio to the north, but frequently in the country of the Mingoes. The Indians eat its flesh, which tastes like pork, with great relish. It climbs the trees nimbly and has its home in hollow trees. The body is heavier than that of the fox. On the back the animal has whitish-brown quills, the length of a finger. These the squaws, particularly among the Mingoes, color red and use as needles to ornament their moccasins, pouches, in which tobacco and pipes are carried, and other things. As it cannot run swiftly, when anyone approaches, the animal turns its back, which is full of quills, toward the enemy, unless it is possible to get up a tree. Hence, they are easily killed. Dogs that attack the creature, suffer terribly and usually die, unless all the quills they have gotten into their bodies are removed, which is not easily accomplished, as many of them break off.

There is a small animal in the Mingoe country, called the marten,[165] concerning which I have been told that it probably belongs to the sable tribe. Though but small animals, their skins are of great value. The Indians catch them in wooden traps, using meat as a bait. The skins are sold to the whites.

I have already referred to the moose[166] that are to be found further north, of which I have seen nothing but the horns. The latter differ from those of the elk in that the prongs are broad and round. The Indians declare that these are equal in size to a horse. They have cloven hoofs and nostrils large enough to put a hand in. As I have no certain knowledge of these animals and have never even in Europe seen any nor have ever had a satisfactory description, I will not definitely declare that these are the animals they speak of, though I should be at a loss to know what other animals they refer to.

The muskrat,[167] able to live in or out of the water, is in many respects most like the beaver. Its tail is not broad as that of the beaver, but oval-shaped. Their dwellings are in the water, but so arranged that they can, according to inclination, be in the water or in a dry place. A great quantity of odorous matter is found in the body of this animal. The odor is unpleasant when too strong, but a little of it is agreeable. In the

settlements of the white people the muskrat does much damage to mill-dams by its burrowing.

There are three kinds of squirrels, the black,[168] the grey,[169] and the red. The black are most commonly found, the grey are the largest and the red the smallest in size. Their flesh is tender, and eaten by the Indians in case of sickness or when they are very hungry for meat.

The ground squirrel[170] lives under the ground and is somewhat smaller than a common rat. They do great damage in the fields of the Indians, not only digging out the corn when it has been planted, but also pumpkin and melon seed. When the Indian corn is ripe, they lay in good stores of it for the winter. They stuff their cheeks full of it and then carry it to their storehouses.

The groundhog[171] also has its dwelling under ground. It is about the size of a large domestic cat, though heavier. It lives on grass and is, also, very fond of melons and pumpkins. It chews the cud.[172] Its feet are armed with claws. When pursued and unable to reach its hole, the animal will climb a tree. The flesh is toothsome and eaten by the Indians.

There is, also, a very large variety of wild cat,[173] other than the kind already mentioned. This is as large as a dog. It is very savage, even attacking a deer and killing it.

The hare[174] in these parts is small and not found in large numbers, being pursued by birds and beasts of prey. Towards the north I have seen them of the same size as those in Europe. In that region some are found with a snow white fur.[175] They dwell in hollow trees.

White deer are seldom seen in these parts.[176] These have generally in summer some red and in winter some gray spots. The Indians call a white deer the king of the deer and believe that the rest flock about and follow him.[177]

Wolves are very numerous, most are gray, some are almost black. As their skins serve no useful purpose and are not much valued, the Indians do not pursue them, unless they catch them tearing skins or devouring meat they have carefully laid away. Sometimes the wolves break into their hunting huts and do much damage. They rarely attack men, never when there are deer

to pursue. The latter they attack in summer or winter, never stopping pursuit until a victim has been captured. Occasionally the deer save themselves in creeks and rivers, swimming a great distance down stream, so that it is impossible for the wolves to trace them. When a wolf has caught a deer and killed it, it will not at once consume the flesh, but go to the highest hill nearby and call its comrades, by howling. When these have assembled they devour the deer together.

Wild geese[178] appear here in spring and autumn. Some remain during the winter, others during the summer, the latter hatching their young in this region. Most of them remain long in this country, passing toward winter into a warmer latitude, toward summer to the north, where they build in the neighborhood of the Great Lakes and return in autumn with their young.

Wild ducks are birds of passage like the geese, but there are some varieties that stay during the summer season. One kind, called the tree duck, builds its nest in hollow trees, either hanging over the water or near to it.[179] When the young are hatched, they are thrown into the water and taken elsewhere. The male bird is the most beautiful of the water-fowls and very good to eat.

Another variety, that also has its nest here, is the sheldrake.[180] This has a narrow bill, armed with teeth. They live on fish, their flesh having the taste of fish. Indians rarely use them for food, though the flesh of some is very palatable.[181]

The crane is the largest of the birds of these parts.[182] Standing on its long legs and stretching its neck upwards, it is as tall as a man. Its body is proportionately heavy. When hit by a shot and only wounded, it attacks its pursuer and has great power in striking with its wings. It is gray in color, has a sharply pointed bill and its feet are formed like those of the turkey. This bird is commonly found upon large plains or near to rivers. Their flesh is dark, rather tough and seldom eaten by the Indians. Their trumpeting may be heard a considerable distance.

Wild swans[183] are quite like the domestic birds, I have seen in Holland, quite white and of the same size. The Indians

declare that their flesh tastes like that of the bear, of which they are particularly fond, and is often so fat that pieces may be cut from the flesh.

Wild turkeys[184] may be seen in the fall in flocks numbering hundreds. In the summer they disperse in the woods, this being the time for hatching the young. In winter their plumage is of a shining black, with white spots on the wings; in summer it changes to a light brown. When the time comes for laying the eggs, the Indians seek them, as they are very fond of them.

Pheasants are not valued by the Indians, though their flesh is palatable.[185] They fall victims, however, to birds of prey. Were it not for the birds of prey the woods would swarm with them, for the hen lays above twenty eggs at one time.

Heath-grouse, found here also, are a little larger than the pheasants.[186] They are not valued by the Indians any more than the pheasants. In the winter the latter shelter themselves from the birds by plunging, when pursued, into the snow, often running a considerable distance from one place to another under the snow, thus escaping their foes.

The wild pigeon[187] is of an ash-gray color, the male being distinguished by a red breast. In some years in fall, or even in spring, they flock together in such numbers that the air is darkened by their flight. Three years ago they appeared in such great numbers that the ground under their roosting-place was covered with their dung above a foot high, during one night. The Indians went out, killed them with sticks and came home loaded. At such a time the noise the pigeons make is such that it is difficult for people near them to hear or understand each other. They do not always gather in such numbers in one place, often scattering over the great forests.

The turtle-doves are smaller than the pigeons and are always found in pairs.[188]

Partridges are small, neatly formed birds.[189] In the fall and winter they fly in broods. In the settlements they like to remain near the plantations, as they find the food they like in the fields. The flesh is tender and of a fine flavor. They are favorites with all people, being innocent and harmless birds.

The eagle has a white head and tail.[190] The wings are black and the body partly black and partly ash-colored. It builds its nest usually in the fork of some lofty and thick tree. It lays the foundation with a great quantity of branches and repairs the nest built there every spring. Usually, they hatch but one, at most two, in a year. It is unquestionably the strongest among the birds of prey. I have seen it fight with another bird of prey,[191] much larger than itself and that wished to occupy its nest. Lifting the other bird into the air, the eagle hurled it down, after having severely injured it. Every morning the eagle goes out in search of prey and brings to its young, birds, squirrels, snakes and fish. Fish now and then prove destructive to them, for in attacking large fish, the bird sometimes cannot disengage its talons soon enough, but is drawn down into the water and drowned.

There is another species of eagle that I have seen nowhere but in this region. The Indians call it Chauwalanne, forked eagle,[192] from the fact that its tail is forked. It often soars to such a height that the eye cannot reach it. If it approaches the dwellings of the Indians, they always look upon it as a sign of change of weather or rain. Often the change follows such approach. It feeds upon snakes and other creatures, as does the white-headed eagle, but it is as a rule, continually on the wing during its repast. It builds its nest in high trees, but in as concealed a place as can be found.

Of other birds of prey, there are to be found here the hawk,[193] the stone-falcon,[194] that remains near the rocks, the pigeon-hawk,[195] that pursues not only the pigeon but all other birds it can conquer, though it is a small bird and not as large as the pigeon.

The wood-pecker has a light red head with a red plume and is otherwise black with white spots.[196] It finds its food in old trees, this consisting of worms that are to be found in the wood.

One variety is called the Red-headed Wood-pecker,[197] because of the red head, is a nuisance in orchards, because it attacks the apples.

Another variety of wood-pecker is very small, is spotted and is much pursued by birds of prey, especially the hawk. Occasionally, the wood-pecker is able to defend himself against his enemies, it having happened that this bird when attacked, has thrust its bill into the head of the pursuer so that the latter fell dead.

The yellow wood-pecker,[198] so called because of its yellow wings, also climbs up and down the trees in search of food, with its head turned upward or downward.

A few green parrots[199] are seen in the woods here in summer. Further south they may be found in great numbers.

The loon[200] is a water bird about the size of a goose and is heavily feathered. It is spotted black and white, lives on fish and has a pointed bill. It cannot walk on land, as its feet are too far back, but is a strong swimmer. It can swim a considerable distance under the water, before rising to the surface, especially if it is being fired upon. Often the Indians are obliged to shoot a number of times before they hit the bird, for it is noted for its swiftness in diving, as well as for its swimming. It is not eatable, but the Indians make pouches of its skin, which is taken off whole, large enough to hold pipe, tobacco, flint, steel and knife.

There are two other birds of prey among those that fish, the one larger than the eagle[201] the other a small bird[202] that makes its nest on the ground along steep banks of creeks or rivers, where it makes a hole just large enough to slip into.

The heron[203] has long legs, great wings and a lean body.

There are two kinds of owls. The larger[204] is heard very much in the woods at night.

Crows[205] do much damage on the plantations, especially in the cornfields, both when the corn is planted and when it is ripe.

The Turkey Posser[206] has a head like a turkey, without feathers. It lives on carrion. The raven[207] is also a scavenger and at the same time a bird of prey, often attacking chickens. The raven makes good use of the meat that Indians leave in the woods.

The hoopoe[208] is fawn colored on the back and has a brown-

ish breast. It has a plume of feathers on its head and is to be found along creeks and rivers where it finds its food.

The black-bird[209] has a reddish breast and its wings and back are ash-colored. Its song may be heard in wild regions and deserts.

The blue-bird[210] has a reddish breast also, otherwise its color is a beautiful azure. It makes its appearance in spring before any other bird.

The mocking-bird[211] mimics what it hears and imitates other birds.

A certain yellow[212] bird with black wings is to be found everywhere in great numbers. Its song is very agreeable.

There is another kind,[213] orange in color with black spots. This bird hangs its nest, made of wild hemp or flax, on the branches of trees. At one side of the nest there is a little opening at which the bird goes in and out.

Another kind of birds,[214] light-red in color, is particularly beautiful, as is another red bird[215] with black wings. Both kinds I have seen in Georgia and South Carolina.

Starlings[216] are quite black and found here in great numbers. They do much damage on the plantations.

The cat-bird[217] is so called because its note is like the mewing of a cat.

Finches,[218] tom-tits,[219] wrens,[220] are found in great numbers.

The smallest of the birds of this region is the honey-bird,[221] Without perching on the flowers, it sucks the honey out of them. In its swift flight it makes the air buzz and hum with its wings.

Serpents are so numerous that it is remarkable that Indians who spend much of their time in the forests are not bitten oftener. In stony places or mountains they are found most frequently. The winter they spend underground or in crevices of the rocks. In places where they are numerous, they gather in the fall and lie upon one another and twisted together until spring. Should they be discovered in winter they have to all appearances but little life, being able to move, but not having strength enough to crawl away.

(1) Among the most dangerous reptiles are the rattlesnakes.[222] They are yellow in color, marked with black spots. The largest are about four feet long, sometimes more, and about as thick as an arm. The rattles are at the end of their tails, and often betray the snakes when they are not seen. These rattles appear to be a thin, transparent horny substance, arranged in links. From the number of links it is possible to tell the age of the serpent, one being added every year. It is a rare thing to find one with twenty rattles. When the rattling sound is heard, it is a sign that the serpent is angry, the trembling of the tail causing the rattling. Even when they glide along the rattles make a slight sound which can, however, be detected only by those well acquainted with the ways of the snake. They do not rattle unless something approaches them. Head and mouth are rather broad in proportion to the size. On either side of the mouth they have two very sharp teeth, which lie concealed in a skin sack until they want to bite, when they are able to move these forward with great swiftness. Hence, it is that when anyone has been bitten four little openings close together may be seen in the skin. If a rattlesnake has been killed, which often happens, as they do not seek to escape nor go out of the way for any one, and one draws forward the teeth with a little stick, a clear liquid spurts out of the bag lying at the root of the teeth. This is the poisonous juice. Undoubtedly, the teeth in themselves are also poisonous. Indians who have been bitten, even if they happen to be quite alone in the forest, know what to do. They seek certain herbs and roots that may be found anywhere and cure themselves of the bite, so that one rarely hears of death occasioned by the bite of this serpent. Horses or cattle bitten in the woods, where it is not possible to render immediate assistance, die in a short time. With proper management these animals may recover in twenty-four hours. With human beings a cure is not effected so quickly, and a curious thing is that the part where a human being has been bitten, becomes spotted like the rattlesnake. The fat of the rattlesnake is used by apothecaries. Here along the Muskingum rattlesnakes are not as numerous as in some regions that are stony or mountainous. Along the Susquehanna there

are very many, especially along the West Branch up in the mountains. In that country in the spring of the year when the snakes come out of their holes they have been seen in such numbers in certain places that it would have been possible to load up several wagons with them, the air being infected with an intolerable stench. This was seen to be the case by Indians who were coming down the West Branch. At the time many of the reptiles had already crawled up the mountains, which were very steep. As there were many fallen leaves about, they set fire to them and the trees with the result that many of the snakes rolled down the mountains and were burned. When I passed through that region the first time, which was in June, I did, indeed, see unusually many rattlesnakes, but I could hardly have believed that there would be as many as the above incident would indicate. The second time, however, when my travels took me through that country, which happened in July, my companion and I had quite a different experience. Not only did we see them singly and in smaller numbers along the wayside, but in stony places so many around that when we began to kill them there was rattling all about to such a degree that we held it advisable to get out of that region as soon as possible. After this I could believe what I had heard, for in the fall, when they gather at different places, there must be immense number of them.

2) Copperheads,[223] named from the color of the reptiles. Their bite is as venomous as that of rattlesnakes.

3) Vipers[224] have a flat head, are short and thick, black on the back and gray on the belly. When approached, they distend the head and hiss so that it is possible to hear them at quite a distance. Their bite also is venomous.

4) One variety[225] of snake found here I have met with in no other region. The belly is quite red. These serpents may be found in the water and on land. They get to be from five to six feet in length and their bite is poisonous. To cure the bite of this reptile the Indians use a plant that grows in the water. These snakes have teeth all around the mouth, above and below, but no fangs.

5) Hornsnakes[226] are in color and size like the copperheads, except that they have a sharply pointed horn on the tail. They

are as venomous as the copperheads and like them, only of middle size.

6) There is another kind[227] of blacksnake which gets to be about six feet long, but it is slender and able to move more swiftly. These climb trees and despoil nests of the young birds. The bite of the reptile causes a slight swelling, but has no other evil effects.

7) Water snakes[228] spend much of their time in the water, live on fish and are not poisonous.

8) A kind of striped, brightly marked snakes,[229] which are small and harmless.

9) There are green snakes,[280] white-bellied, not more than a foot in length and harmless.

I have myself seen a hawk descend on a blacksnake, of the kind described under number 6, and attack it, but the snake quickly coiled itself round the bird and killed it.

Concerning none of the reptiles described above, beyond the rattlesnake, is it known that they gather in great numbers at any time. None are so numerously represented as the rattlesnakes. All of them swallow their prey whole. Frogs, turtles, birds, groundhogs, squirrels, they swallow thus, but by slow degrees. They usually begin with the hind leg of an animal and gradually draw it in. All serpents cast their coat in spring. Often the whole skin of a snake, complete from the head downward, may be seen lying on the ground. This is very thin. The new skin of a black serpent is a shining jet. It is said that a rattlesnake, if irritated, and unable to avenge itself, will sink its fangs into its own body, with the result that it swells considerably and dies in a few hours. This snake is said to possess another peculiar property, as witnessed both by Indians and whites, viz., that of gazing with fixed eyes upon bird or squirrel and by a kind of fascination, stupefying them in such a manner that the poor creatures drop from the boughs and fall easy prey to their enemy.

Lizards are but rarely found here. One variety, not above five or six inches in length, is said to be poisonous. Indians make much ado when they see them and try to frighten them away. They dwell in hollow trees, where they also keep their

young. Other varieties, some very small, come into the huts that are reared in the forests and are very harmless.

Of fishes, there are doubtless many more varieties than those I have seen in the Ohio. I will, however, confine notice to those I have seen and know.

1) Pike[231] are of uncommon size and generally known.

2) The black-fish,[232] as the Indians call it, has large, brown scales, a small head and a small, round, soft mouth, not armed with teeth. Its shape is not broad, but round. It is reckoned one of the best flavored.

3) The buffalo-fish[233] is thus called by Indians and Europeans because of its being heard sometimes to bellow in the water. Its length is about a foot and a half or even two feet, and its breadth five or six inches. It has a curved back, prickly fins, a narrow mouth, and a small head, in which two white stones[234] are found, flat on one side and a little convex on the other. These are not ordinary stones, but have a stony appearance. The fish has no teeth, but at the entrance of its throat there are two strong flat bones, with grooves exactly fitting each other. With these it can crack the hardest mussels, which are its chief food, and serve to bait the hook in angling for it. The Indians, however, rarely using a hook and line, commonly pierce this fish with an iron prong of their own making. If any one should venture to put his finger into its mouth, even when to appearance it is half dead, he is in danger of losing one or more of his fingers, for the mussel shells which the fish constantly cracks, are very hard.

4) The catfish[235] is without scales and a good fish to eat. In the Muskingum there are no very large specimens of this fish. In the Ohio, on the other hand, they grow to an unusual size. In Pittsburg, a man who had gone fishing at night, having bound the line to his arm and gone to sleep in his canoe, was dragged into the water by the catfish and lost his life. Man and fish were found close together several days later.

5) The sturgeon[236] is the largest of the fish in the Muskingum. The largest caught here were from three to three and a half feet in length.

6) There is a kind of fish[237] with a narrowly formed mouth,

armed with sharp teeth, almost like the bill of a duck. It has scales. The Indians do not use it for food.

7) Another kind[238] resembles the catfish very much. It has no scales. This also has a broad, plain beak like the bill of a goose, almost the length of a hand. This it uses to dig in sand or slime in search of food. The mouth opens below.

8) The white perch[239] is short and broad. It has scales and is good to eat.

9) The yellow perch[240] is not broad, but longer than the last named, has prickly fins and sharp teeth like those of a pike. It has a yellowish appearance and is one of the most palatable of fishes.

10) Eels are rarely found.[241]

11) There is an other variety of fish,[242] or whatever one may call it, resembling a small catfish, but having four short legs. It has a wide mouth and is about a foot and a half in length. The fins are short.

The river tortoise[243] of these parts is a species different from that found in Pensilvanien, which has a hard shell. The shell of this is quite soft and its head small and pointed, like that of a sea tortoise. The Indians shoot them, for they are not easily caught in any other way, as they seldom venture out of the water upon the banks of the river. The Indians are very fond of the flesh and of the eggs, which the animals lay in the sand on islands.

There is another variety of land tortoise[244] in these parts which has a hard shell, is small and very prettily marked. Flesh is also eaten.

Two varieties of shellfish[245] are found as well. One resembles the clams found along the seacoast, the inside of the shell being violet, shading to red; the other has a larger shell, which is white inside. Some speciments of smaller varieties[246] are also found.

Snails are likewise found. From one variety spring, it is believed, the many large gad-flies, which in the summer, in the months of July and August, worry the cattle to such an extent that during the day they cannot graze in the forest. During these two months both cattle and horses make for shelter every

morning as soon as the sun begins to shine and return to the forest only at sundown. This species of snail deposits a colorless liquid of the consistency of saliva on the stems of various plants in the forest (presumably containing the eggs of the animal, which are hatched out by the sun). From this, it is supposed that the pestiferous gad-flies are hatched out.[247] Where there are large herds of cattle that destroy the weeds and root them up, not many of these insects are found.[248]

The common frogs are found in swamps near puddles and ponds. They are of a brownish color, do not croak, but have a note like a short whistle.[249] In springtime they may be heard all night. The Mingoes catch them at night by the light of a torch and eat them either fresh or dried. Green frogs are but rarely met with and only in rivers and brooks.[250] The largest American frog is the bull frog.[251] It inhabits rivers and large brooks. Their croaking resembles the bellowing of a bull, but is far more penetrating.

Of rats, nothing is known in these parts, but mice[252] are very common.

Mosquitoes and sandflies are found in woods in summertime in great numbers. Both sting and a night in the forest would be intolerable without the smoke of a fire. They are particularly annoying in changeable weather. Even horses will make for the fire and stand in smoke to be free of the pests. Great and small gadflies come in July and August and trouble cattle so much that only at night the latter will graze, the gadflies disappearing until dawn of day.

Ticks are to be found in the woods. These will attack one, pierce the skin and suck the blood until they have so swelled that they drop off. Bed-bugs are to be found in the Indian huts at any time and fleas in the summer, not a few.

The first deer a boy shoots proves the occasion of a great solemnity. If it happens to be a buck it is given to some old man; if a doe, to some old woman. These bring in the whole animal, skinned, if it is possible to do so. If the animal is too heavy, they bring the skin and as much of the flesh as they can carry, fetching the rest later. When they reach the village, they

turn to the east, having the whole or part of the animal on the back, always with the skin, before entering the house and give vent to a prolonged call, which is the old man's or old woman's prayer to the Deity in behalf of the boy, that he may always be a fortunate hunter. During the repast they repeat their petitions and give counsel to the boy (who, with his companions, is a mere spectator) regarding the chase and all the circumstances of his future life, exhorting him above all things to revere old age and gray hairs and to be obedient to their words, because experience has given them wisdom. Such counsel was heeded in time past, and though the ceremonies are still kept up, the young no longer revere the aged as was the case at one time.

Formerly, the young revered the old, especially if they had gray or white heads.[253] They believed that these must be very wise and prudent, because they were of such an age and seemed to be favored of the gods. Therefore, they treated the aged well, brought them, it may be, a deer, in the hope that they might be instructed of them how to attain to equal age. They presented the old, also, with wampum or belts, with the same hope. While nothing was said, the aged understood and gave the desired instruction on another occasion.

No young Indian in those days would have dared to take the tobacco pouch, (made usually of the skin of the otter, beaver, raccoon, fox, pole-cat, or some other animal, stripped off whole, with a little slit at the neck), of an old person and take a pipeful of tobacco, thinking such an act a great sin and believing that it would be the cause of shortening his life. When, therefore, in those days, a young brave asked an aged man permission to fill his pipe from the latter's pouch, the old man understood that this was not the young man's intention at all, but he wished to place something in the pouch. Usually, wampum was put in and no tobacco taken out. This, also, was done with the hope that the aged man might instruct the young brave how to be wise and to attain to great age. Indeed, good counsel is given, to bring offerings regularly on behalf of themselves and their friends, to be chaste, to abstain from drinking and stealing, which were common even in those days. These customs, however, have ceased. The old have lost respect and the young

regard them but little. They do not seem to be ashamed of their vices. For this reason, Indians themselves declare that their condition grows worse from year to year. As there is neither law nor legal penalty among them, they have nothing to fear, except that an injured one may avenge himself in the manner in which he has been injured. If one has seduced the wife of another, the offended party will seek to seduce the wife of the offender. He will keep his purpose a secret and not rest until he has obtained satisfaction, when he makes known to others what he has done, so that the original offender may hear of it.

When, in a young female, the first menstrual discharge occurs, generally between the twelfth and sixteenth year, the Delawares generally separate such daughters from all companionship, the Monsies [Monseys] being more strict and having more ceremonies in the observance of the custom than the Miamis. They build for such a girl, separate hut, apart from the rest, where her mother or some old female acquaintance cares for her and guards her so that none may see her. Wherefore, she is also kept within the hut the whole of the menstrual period, with the blanket over her head. She is given little to eat, but regularly dosed with emetics. She is not allowed to do any work during the whole time, which generally lasts twelve days. At the end of the time, they bring her into her home, looking black, grimy and dishevelled, because she has been lying about in dust and ashes the whole time. Washed and dressed in new garments, she is allowed to be in the home, but required to wear a cap with a long shield, so that she can neither see any one readily, nor be seen. Such a covering she must wear for two months, at the end of which time she is informed that she may marry.

The Shavanose [Shawanese] and Mingoes, however, who observe much the same custom, follow a different course in this matter. The young woman in question is allowed to remain in the house. She prepares food for those in the house, of the corn and fruits she has raised. Of such food she does not, however, herself partake, but goes to her hut, apart from the others, and there prepares and eats her food.

Every month, during her menstrual period, a Delaware woman lives by herself in a separate hut, which is usually very

poorly built, and remains there two or three days, food being taken to her. When the time is over they bathe and wash their clothes and are allowed to return to their husbands. During the menstrual period, they are not permitted to do any cooking or domestic work. None will eat what a woman in this condition prepares, for food prepared under such circumstances is said to be unwholesome and to cause pain in the abdomen. The women do not go into company, but keep to their huts until their time is over. Hence, it occasionally happens that a woman engaged in baking will leave everything and go to her hut. This custom does not obtain among the Mingoes; their women continue their usual work and remain in the house.

In the wooing of a bride, custom demands that if an Indian would proceed honorably and at the same time have assurance that his wife when married will remain with him, he first sends a present of blankets, strouds, linen and whatever else the Indians commonly use for clothing and perhaps a few belts or fathoms of wampum. If he has no cloth, wampum alone will do. These things he gives to an Indian to whom he has declared his purpose and who hands them to a friend of the person fixed upon, speaks for him and presses his suit. Thereupon, the friends assemble, examine the present, propose the matter to the girl, who generally decides agreeably to the wish of her parents and relations. The suitor is then informed that his proposal has been accepted. If it is decided to decline the proposal, the present is simply returned and understood to be a friendly negative. In case the match is agreeable, the girl is led to the dwelling of the groom, without further ceremony. After the bride has joined her husband, the things constituting the present are divided among the friends and the belts of wampum cut and a piece given to each. The friends return the civility by a present of Indian corn, beans, kettles, dishes, spoons, sieves, baskets, hatchets, brought in solemn procession into the hut of the newly married couple. Commonly, the latter lodge in a friend's house until they can erect a dwelling of their own.

This custom still obtains among the Indians. Within the last years, however, disorderly living and evil have become so common that faith is not kept and many of the usages, that were

good and preserved a certain decency, have fallen into disuse. At the present time, even if the Indian would take a wife in honorable fashion and proceed in accordance with the above described custom, the parties concerned will not deny his suit in view of the presents, even though the friends and the girl are not willing to accept him. The friends will urge the girl to live with the man a short time, and tell her that if she is not pleased, to leave him again. Thus it happens that women will go from one to another for the sake of the gifts. Yet there are many cases where husband and wife are faithful to one another throughout life.

Occasionally, parents who have a son will agree with parents who have a daughter that in due time their children shall marry. As, however, they can neither persuade nor compel their children against their wishes, it in the end depends upon the children whether the match shall be consummated.[254]

Among the Mingoes it is not unusual to fix upon children of four or five years of age, with a view to future marriage. In this case the mother of the girl is obliged to bring a basket of bread every week into the house of the boy and to furnish him with firewood. The parents of the boy must supply the girl with meat and clothes, till they are both of a proper age. Their marriage, however, solely depends upon their own free will, for there is never any compulsion. If either man or woman is unwilling to follow up the engagement entered into by parents, no marriage results.

Although there are many Indians who live peaceably with their wives, especially if they have children for whom they care (for if a man has several children he will try to get along with his wife) the younger Indians at the present time generally live together only a very short time after a marriage. Hence, fornication is very common among them, Satan's influence in this respect being very strong.

If it is asked why the Indians at the present time are more given to vice and disorderly living than formerly, when they were as ignorant heathen as they are now, two reasons may be given. First, much evil unquestionably has been taught them by white people, especially the traders, who were content to live

among the Indians as long as there were no Indian wars. Through the examples of the traders, also the Indians acquired the habit of drinking to excess. Secondly, the Indians had formerly great respect for the aged and the chiefs, from whom they learned that unfaithfulness in the marriage relationship was a great crime and that whoever was guilty of such evil would live neither long nor happily. At the present time they show little reverence to the aged and each one thinks himself to be wise in his own conceits.

The Indian women are in general of a very strong bodily constitution. There are generally clever and experienced women enough who are able to give assistance and advice in time of labor; generally, women will remain in the house at this time. Some go into the woods by themselves and bring their children to the house when they have seen the light of day. Most mothers nurse their children until they are two or more years old. During this time many husbands have concubines, though not in the house.

If it is left to the mother to give the child a name, she uses little ceremony and calls it after some peculiar mark or character in it, for instance the Beautiful, the Good Child, the Great-Eye, sometimes giving it a name of unsavory meaning. If the father gives the child a name he pretends that it has been suggested to him in a dream. The name is given at a sacrifice, on which occasion the Indian brings to some aged person, who performs the offering, a string of wampum, and tells him that he wishes his child's name to be named thus and so. During the sacrifice some other person sings a song in Indian fashion at a public gathering and makes known the child's name. This is called praying over the child. The same ceremony is performed when an adult person receives a name, even although he may already have been named. It is not common to call an adult by his name, for they are ashamed of their own names. If the attention of any one is to be attracted it is done in some other fashion than by the use of the name. In case of children, the names are used. In assemblies and in discourses they do not use the name of any one who is present, though absent persons are referred to by their names.

The children have entirely their own will and never do anything by compulsion. Told to do something they do not care about, the children let it go by default and are not reprimanded for it. Yet many wellbred children are found among them who pay great attention and respect to parents and do things to please them. They are courteous, even to strangers. They respond to mild treatment. The contrary generally produces bitterness, hatred and contempt. The women are frequently guilty of thus raising their children to anger, for the women are often ill-tempered. By way of punishment, they will pour water on the children or thrust them into the water. The parents are careful not to beat their children, lest the children might remember it and revenge themselves on some future occasion. Instances are not wanting where children when grown have reproached their parents for corporal punishment received in youth and have threatened to return the indignity.

Rarely does an Indian have two or more wives, being fearful of strife in the house. Blood relations do not marry; in this particular they are even more strict than the whites. They claim that division of the race into tribes came about in order to make it more readily certain that a man in taking a wife was not marrying a near relative. Concerning the tribes, however, more will be said in another connection. An instance of an Indian having married a mother and her daughter at the same time was a most extraordinary thing.

Families have from four to six children. More than this number is unusual. Birth of twins is rarely heard of. In many cases children who have become motherless after birth have been reared by careful old women. Sometimes children are given to such women. Then they spare no pains in rearing them. Soup made of Indian corn, pounded very fine, is given by them to infants of tender age, that may have come into their possession. Ordinarily, orphans, even if they have lost but the mother, meet with hard experience and often suffer want. Children who have been given or bequeathed, on the contrary, are almost without exception well cared for.

In the management of household affairs the husband leaves

everything to his wife and never interferes in things committed to her. She cooks victuals regularly twice a day. If she neglects to do it in proper time, or even altogether, the husband never says a word but goes to a friend, being assured that he will find something to eat, for when a stranger comes into the house the first attention shown is to put food before him, if there is anything in the house. The husband never offers to put wood on the fire, except it be that he has guests or some other extraordinary call to do it, for the woman cuts the wood and brings it to the house and is, therefore, the proper person to take care of the fire.

If his wife longs for meat, and gives him a hint of it, the husband goes out early in the morning without victuals and seldom returns without some game, should he even be obliged to stay out till late in the evening. When he returns with a deer, he throws it down before the door of the hut and walks in, saying nothing. But his wife, who has heard him lay down his burden, gives him something to eat, dries his clothes and then goes out to bring in the game. She may then do what she pleases with it. He says nothing, if she even gives the greatest part of it to her friends, which is a very common custom. A woman generally remembers her friends when meat has been secured, or when her husband has brought flour from the whites.

If the husband intends to take a journey or go hunting, he gives his wife notice, and then she knows that it is her business to furnish him with proper provisions. If any dissatisfaction arises between them, the husband commonly takes his gun and walks off into the woods, without telling his wife whither he is going. Sometimes he does not return for some days, when both parties have generally forgotten their quarrels and live again in peace.

Young people who marry rarely remain faithful to each other, but join themselves to others and again separate, continuing such disorderly living until they are older and more sensible. Then it not infrequently happens that they find one another again, or the husband may join himself permanently to some other woman and settle down to housekeeping. Marriages are contracted early in life, when men are from eighteen to twenty

years of age and women fourteen or fifteen. There is in general no very strong tie between married people, not even between the older. A mere trifle furnishes ground for separation. Not every Indian, however, is indifferent to the light behavior of his wife. Many a one takes her unfaithfulness so to heart that in the height of his despair he swallows a poisonous root, which generally causes death in two hours, unless an antidote be administered in good time; this is often done, the Indians knowing that the properties of certain herbs counteract each other and being able to judge from the effects, what poison has been taken. Women, also, have been known to destroy themselves on account of a husband's unfaithfulness. To prevent such a calamity, they make use of a Beson, a love-charm, prepared by the old people and sold at a good price. This is constantly carried about by one or the other of the parties and is believed to keep man or woman faithful. Such a charm is even declared to have had the effect of making a woman run always and everywhere after her husband, until weary of life she has destroyed herself, or of similarly affecting a man. For this Beson, also, the Indians have their antidote. All this converted Indians have related to me.

Older men and women, particularly, have another Beson, supposed to have the magic power of bringing many presents to them. This charm they guard jealously among their most precious belongings, and is said to have the effect of bringing them food, clothing and whatever else they may need. It is prepared of roots pounded very fine, incantations being murmured meanwhile. A little of this preparation, about the size of a pea, is sold with a white and black wampum shell for a considerable price, often for a belt of wampum with several pounds in money. The love charm and others are similarly prepared. Usually, this is done by old women, who thus support themselves and promote superstition among the young.

The men have a Beson for the chase. This beson is a preparation made by old men, who are no more able to hunt, consisting of roots and herbs or made of the seeds of a certain plant. This is sold by them at a high price. They may earn much in this way, for every huntsman carries such a charm about in his

pocket. Thus the old men support themselves when they can no longer engage in the chase. As there are several sorts of charm of this character, every one is desirous to get the best, even if he has already at the price of half the catch of a season bought one charm and if it should cost him the greater part of his property to get the new one of which he has heard. Some Indians chew a certain root when on the deer-hunt, so the deer may not notice their approach when the wind blowing over the Indian to the game would otherwise give the alarm.

Another kind of Beson, considered to be a more powerful charm, is taken inwardly and occasions violent vomiting, but this is not in common use. According to the opinion of the Indians this beson will prove mischievous and have a contrary effect unless every ceremony connected with its use is attended to with the most scrupulous exactness. If a huntsman shoots nothing for several days, he swallows a small dose, observing all the rules prescribed by magic art. Not having taken any food he then starts on the chase and does not return before evening unless he has secured some game. It is claimed that the use of this charm enables them to shoot deer in considerable numbers. I have observed, however, that Indians have repeatedly taken such doses during a period of three weeks and not been successful. In such cases ill-luck is ascribed to some other cause, frequently to the presence of a missionary. In cases where Indians, unable to secure anything in spite of the use of this beson while I was present have been successful in my absence, it has appeared that my presence has in some way interfered with their incantations. In connection with the chase they lay much stress on dreams. If the dreamer fancies he sees an Indian and hears him say, "If thou will sacrifice to me, thou shalt shoot deer at pleasure," he will immediately prepare a sacrifice and burn the whole or part of a deer in honor of the apparition.

Occasionally, when an Indian would go hunting for a season, he will by way of preparation shoot a deer or two, bring home the flesh and prepare a feast, which is at the same time a sacrifice, to which the aged are invited. The latter pray for him that he may be fortunate and then he departs to stay away some time.

The Delaware Indians use no other than rifle-barrelled guns, having satisfied themselves that these are the best for shooting at long range, in which they are very skillful and shooting accurately. They have acquired considerable skill in making minor repairs when their weapons get out of order. Some have even learned to furnish them with stocks, neatly and well made. An Indian really intent on making something will not spare pains or time in accomplishing his purpose even when he has not seen the thing made and takes great pride in the work of his hands. Among nations living farther inland the rifle-barrelled guns are rare and muskets are more commonly found, often in very poor condition, except among the Shawanose [Shawanese] who know and value the rifle-barrelled gun.

It occurs to me to add that when a man and his wife have no children, they generally separate before long, each believing the other to be the guilty cause, and attributing it to the other. There are also women who never have children. Such a one goes from one man to another until some man who has children already takes her. There are men also who never have children. In both sexes, however, these cases are rare.

Cursing and swearing are never heard among the Indians; they have no words of this character in their language. If women or men would berate one another — rarely the case among men, except in case of the younger, more frequent among women — they direct words and speeches at one another which would not be considered terrible by other people but are very seriously taken by the Indians. If they would revile one another in extremest fashion, they use some obscene expressions.

Mothers carry the children on their backs under the blanket. They do this even when the children are five years old and over, for they love their children. In former days it was the custom to bind the child upon a board which was carried by means of a band fastened round the head in such a way that the child was suspended on the back in an upright position. This practice gets more and more out of fashion, for the reason that it has been the cause of miserable death of the children. It was customary that children thus fastened were placed against a bench or elsewhere,

the mother going to fetch water or on some other errand. The children by pushing and kicking not infrequently tumbled themselves into the fire or other danger and thus miserably perished, or were severely burned. For this reason the custom is in disfavor.

Their houses are fairly clean, some being superior in this respect and affording a comfortable night's lodging for a European. In case a guest is expected, especially if it be a white person, they prepare as comfortable a bed as possible. They sweep the bunk, that serves as seat and table in the daytime and as bed at night, and spread a mat with one or more deer or bear skins upon it. Though usually a comfortable couch in summer time it may be made very uncomfortable by the fleas brought in by dogs. Their kettles, dishes and spoons are not kept in good order; sometimes they are only licked by the dogs in lieu of washing. Dishes and spoons they make themselves of wood, sometimes of tree knots or growths, often very neatly. The spoons are generally large and round shaped. Occasionally, a spoon will be used by several people, turn about, at a meal. Brass kettles, to be found in most houses because very necessary for sugar boiling, are bought from the whites.

The Indians are lovers of finery and dress, the women more than the men; the latter take care that the women adorn themselves in proper manner. The men clothe themselves rather meanly, regarding it as a disgrace to be better appareled than their wives. The dress which particularly distinguishes the women is a petticoat or strowd, blue, red or black, made of a piece of cloth about two yards long, adorned with red, blue or yellow bands laid double and bound about the body. Many women wear a white shirt over the strowd, decorated with silver buckles, the more the better. Red or blue leggings are worn, made of fine cloth joined by a broad band of silk bordered with coral. These leggings reach only to the feet. Shoes are made very neatly. Over the first strowd they may wear another, not decorated with ribbons, which if it inconveniences them in their movements may be easily laid aside. Thus clad a woman is well dressed. In place of the white shirts, blue linen or cotton may be worn. When they wear a white shirt, which is preferably of fine linen, it is

often dyed red with cinnabar about the neck. Such a shirt may be worn unwashed until it is torn. More careful women, however wash their clothing. Men and women paint their faces almost daily, especially if they go out to a dance in the evening. Men, particularly, think it is proper to paint and often their whole head is colored vermillion.[255] Here and there black spots may be introduced, or they paint one-half of their head and face black, the other red. Figures are added according to taste.[256] Indian women never paint their faces with a variety of figures, but rather make a round red spot upon each cheek and redden the eyelids, the tops of their heads and, in some cases, the rims of the ears and the temples.[257] Older women adorn themselves but rarely, usually appearing in old cast-off garments. Even if the husband of such a woman provides new clothing, she will rarely put it on, especially if she has a daughter to whom she gives the new clothing in exchange for old garments.

Their towns are generally laid out near a lake, river or brook, yet sufficiently elevated to escape the danger of inundations, which are very common in spring. In building towns no regular plan is observed but every one builds according to his fancy. The houses are not built close together. Some years ago, when the Delawares planned Gochachgünk, they wished to imitate the Christian Indians and build their town in orderly fashion but they did not succeed, even though they had laid it out. When they have lived long in one place, it at last becomes troublesome to secure wood for fuel because all the wood in the neighborhood has been used. This causes them to leave the place and plan a new village for the sake of the wood and other conveniences. Although they have horses that roam about and are rarely used except when they wish to ride, it is too troublesome for them to break these to work and, furthermore, since fetching wood is the work of the women, the men do not concern themselves about it.

Of inheritances they know nothing. Every Indian knows that whatever he leaves at his death is divided among his friends. If a woman becomes a widow, no matter how long she may have lived with her husband, friends come, take everything that be-

longed to the man, and bring it to one place. The friends do not keep a single article, for they wish to forget the dead and are afraid lest the smallest part of the property of the deceased should remind them of him. They give what the deceased has left to their friends and no one of his friends receives anything; even though he should wish to take something he will not do it through fear of the others. If a dying Indian leaves his gun or any other trifle to a particular friend the legatee is immediately put in possession and no one disputes his right. The widow gets nothing, yet whatever the husband has given to his wife during his life-time remains her property. Therefore we need not wonder that a married Indian pair should not have their goods in common, for otherwise the wife would be left wholly destitute after her husband's death. In like manner the husband inherits nothing when his wife dies.

According to ancient custom a widow should not marry again within a year after the death of her husband, for the Indians say that he does not forsake her before that time. At the end of this period, however, they believe that his soul goes to its place. A widow must endeavor to live by her own industry. She is not permitted to purchase any meat, for the Indians are superstitiously persuaded that their guns fail if a widow should eat of the game they have killed. Now and then a kind friend will venture to transgress the rule and give her some meat secretly. As soon as the first year of her widowhood is passed, the friends of the deceased husband clothe and provide for her and her children. They also propose another husband if they know of a desirable party, or, at least, tell her that she is now at liberty to choose for herself. If, however, she has not attended to the prescribed rule but married within the year, they never trouble themselves about her again except, perhaps, to speak evil of her.

If a man's wife die, her relatives pretend to have some claim upon him until a year has passed. If he has remained a widower during that time they generally secure him a wife, preferring a sister of the departed, if one be living.

The burying places are at some distance from the towns. Before they had hatchets and other tools they used to line the

inside of a grave with the bark of trees and when the corpse was let down they placed some pieces of wood across, which were again covered with bark and then the earth thrown in. When they were able to split boards they placed them, not, however, joined in any way, in the grave in such a manner that the corpse might be between them. A fourth board was laid over it as a cover. Now they have learned to make proper coffins. The graves are generally dug by old women as the young people abhor this kind of work. The coffin is made by men and placed in the grave. Then the corpse is brought, dressed in new clothing and a white shirt, with the face and shirt painted red, laid upon a new mat and let down into the grave. They cover the body with the strowd and nail up the coffin. Formerly it was the custom to place the pouch, tobacco, pipe, knife, fire material, kettle and hatchet in the grave but this is no longer done. They also fill up the grave with earth, which was not done in former times. The graves are all arranged in such a manner that the head was turned to the east and the feet to the west. At the head of the corpse a tall post is erected, pointing out who is buried. If the deceased was a chief this post is neatly carved but not otherwise decorated. If it was a Captain the post is painted red and his head and glorious deeds are portrayed upon it. The burial post of a physician is hung with a small tortoise shell which he used in his juggling practice. In honor of a great warrior his warlike deeds are exhibited in red color on the burial post.

In the evening soon after sunset and in the morning before daybreak the female relations and friends assemble in the house of the deceased and mourn over the body. This is done until he is buried. All the effects of the deceased are piled up near the body. These are taken to the place of burial and the greater part is distributed among those who assisted in burying the dead. The rest is given to the friends present, each receiving a share. During the letting down of the corpse into the grave the women set up a deafening howl. Men deem it a shame to weep, yet in silence and unobserved they often cannot refrain from tears. After the ceremony is over the mother, grandmother or other near female relative of the deceased goes evening and

morning to the grave and weeps over it. This is repeated daily for some time but gradually less and less till the mourning period is over. Sometimes they place victuals on the grave that the deceased may not suffer hunger. The food thus left is generally consumed by dogs.

The Nantikoks [Nantikokes] of whom more in another place, have this singular custom that about three or four months after the funeral they open the grave, take out the bones, clean them of the flesh and dry them, wrap them up in new linen and inter them again. A feast is usually provided for the occasion, consisting of the best they can afford. Only the bones of the arms and legs of the corpse are thus treated. All the rest is buried or burned.

The Indians are a free people, knowing neither law nor restraint. They may not be prevailed on in any matter that does not please them, much less forced. If they cannot be persuaded with gentle words, further effort is in vain.

Each of them may settle where he pleases. Not satisfied with one place, an Indian may move to a town with which he is better pleased and no one offers any objection; or he may retire to a solitary place. Rarely will a family move far away from all society, though they frequently live apart from the towns to avoid being annoyed by drunkards; or they live thus alone in order to carry on the profitable traffic in rum more to their advantage. Many engage in rum traffic, especially women, who fetch it from the white people and sell at a considerable profit to the Indians, often taking from the latter everything they have, sometimes even their rifles on which they depend for subsistence. Chiefs and counsellors have often considered what might be done to stop this ruinous trade, and have often determined that no one should ever bring spirituous liquors into their towns again; for a time such a resolution would be kept, and then be broken, perhaps by the very ones who had counselled the prohibition. Since the Indians have taken so much to drinking rum, murders are more frequent. Murder committed in drunkenness is not severely punished. Hence, it is that one harboring hatred for another will, on the occasion of a drinking

orgy, put him out of the way, pretending to be very drunk and not capable of judging of the nature of his deed. Under such circumstances, according to ancient usage, the murderer must pay a hundred fathoms of wampum for the murder of a man and two hundred for that of a woman. If he is too poor to raise the amount, which is commonly the case, his friends help to raise it and turn it over to the relatives of the slain, at the same time delivering a speech. If any one has murdered his own relative, he usually escapes without difficulty, for the family can easily find reason for the deed, not wishing to lose two of their friends at once. Should a murderer not feel himself safe, he goes to another region or town where he is a stranger.

In case of theft, which is held as a disgrace among them, nothing further is required than that the thief must restore what he has stolen, pay for it or give something in exchange. If justice cannot be satisfied in one of these ways, because the thief has nothing, loss falls on the party robbed, or the friends of the thief, if such he has, must make good the loss.

When a whole party goes out to hunt, they govern themselves according to the wishes of the oldest or the most expert, particularly if he be a member of the council. It is not considered good form for one to leave the party before the end of the hunt. If one has wounded a deer and another followed and killed it, the skin belongs to the first and either the half or the whole of the meat to the latter. If several take aim at once and they cannot determine which of them made the best shot, the skin is given to the oldest of the party, or, if he happened to be one of those taking aim, he is said to have killed the animal. Old men, therefore, no longer able to shoot well, generally get their share of the skins, if they only aim now and then with the others though they do not hit the mark.

Such old men, accompanying a hunting party, get both meat and skins, for the good hunters will not let them return empty-handed. They have, in general, and the Unami in particular, the custom that when a huntsman has shot a deer, and another Indian joins him or only looks on at a distance, he immediately gives him the whole animal and goes in pursuit of another.

If a debtor is unable to pay, the creditor duns his friends, who must pay and rarely refuse to do so. Occasionally, the debts of friends must be paid years after they were contracted, even after the death of the debtor, if only the debt can be proven.

A purchaser, dissatisfied with what he has bought or the price paid, is allowed to return what he has purchased and recover what was paid. One who has done an injury, killed a hog or chicken or occasioned loss in some other way, and obstinately refuses to make good the injury, cannot be touched. His friends may make good the loss. Should the offender, in the long run, not heed the admonitions of his friends, they will drive him away.

Hence, it is that in wars with whites practically all the tribes have been involved more or less. If the nation, as such, has taken no part in the war, these unmanageable offenders have gone with the fighting peoples, despite the warnings and threats of the chiefs. The same is true of the present conflict.[258] The Delaware chiefs had determined at its beginning to remain neutral, daily admonishing their people not to allow themselves to be persuaded to go into the war. The nation as such remained true to the determination of the chiefs, being constantly and earnestly watched, but obstinate offenders took part against all order and command.

Though the Indians are a free people and not subject to the rule of any one, each nation, considering itself a unit, has a kind of government of its own choosing, imperfect as it may be. This holds good of all the North American nations. A nation is constituted of three principal Tribes, the first or leading tribe is called *Packoango*, i. e., the tribe of the great Tortoise, the second, *Blem*, the Turkey Tribe, the third, *Ptucksit*, the Wolf Tribe. Each of the tribes has its chief and each chief his counsellors. The chief of the Tortoise Tribe is the first in rank and, together with the other two chiefs, deals with all matters of national interest, particularly, such as have reference to nations with whom, according to treaty, friendly relations are to be cultivated. A chief may not presume to rule over the people, as in that case he would immediately be forsaken by the whole tribe, and his counsellors would refuse to assist him. He must

ingratiate himself with the people and stand by his counsellors. Hence, it is that the chiefs are generally friendly, gracious, hospitable, communicative, affable and their house is open to every Indian. Even strangers who come on business put up in the chief's house and are accommodated with the best it affords. The ambassadors of other nations generally lodge with the chief and they are well cared for. If their number is too great, and it has happened in connection with weighty affairs concerning several nations that ten or twenty men of other nations have arrived at the principal chief's house, they are put into a separate house and provided with every thing at the public expense, the counsellors taking care that they are entertained most hospitably in order that the nation may be in good repute amongst other nations.

In externals a chief has no advantages above others. He must provide for his own maintenance, for no one is under any obligation to supply his wants. His wife, whose duty it is to provide sufficient corn for the year, is usually assisted by other women in her plantations, for much corn is required in such a house. If the chief is young and able to hunt he will, his official duties permitting, occasionally join the chase. He will even secure his own firewood as far as possible. In case he is old his friends, of whom there are usually many, and other Indians will furnish him with game, especially if he be popular.

The council house is either the house of the chief, which is commonly large and roomy, or a building erected for that purpose. Here public councils are held, that is, such where messages which have arrived from whites or other Indians are published. Every one may listen and the messages are also discussed. In case there is something of particular importance to consider, only the chief and the counsellors assemble and determine upon the matter. The old chief Netawatwes[259] used to lay all affairs of state before his council for consideration. When they gave him their opinion, he either approved of it or indicated what was missing or not correct in the speech, upon which they would make the necessary amendments. Thus he kept them active and was held in great esteem.

The chief has the council bag in his possession, as also the

treaties that have been made with the governors of the provinces and other documents, although they are not able to read. These constitute the archives, where all messages and reports are kept. With each message or speech there are one or more strings or belts of wampum. These, with the message or speech after the latter have been properly considered and answered, are deposited in the archives.[260] In connection with such a message there may be a string or belt to each point, for as soon as the deliverer of a message has finished with a point he gives over a string or belt to the chief, gets out another and continues to speak until his message has been fully delivered when he announces that he has done. If the strings and belts are handed about from one to another in the council this is an indication that the message is being favorably received. It may happen, however, that the chief does not take the belt into his hands but pushes it to one side with a stick, in which case no one will touch it. The messenger who has brought it must in this case take it back. This signifies that his message does not find approbation and it is accounted a disgrace. Such a rejected belt may be a war belt summoning the people to war, or it may be a belt admonishing them to maintain peace, or something else that is not agreeable may be required.

The wampum which Europeans make and barter to the Indians is made of sea-mussel shells. One variety is quite white, the other dark violet, a quarter of an inch in length, an eighth of an inch in thickness and round. A hole is bored lengthwise through each shell, large enough to admit a heavy cord. They are strung like beads. Wampum constitutes the money of the Indians. Two hundred shells cost a buck hide, or a Spanish dollar.[261] Before the white people came they had no such wampum for want of proper instruments to make it.[262] The white are a little less in value than the dark.

Strings are made of the beads that have been strung as described. Two, four or six placed side by side and properly fastened form a string. A string is usually half a yard long, sometimes longer. Upon delivery of a string a long speech may be made and much said upon the subject under consideration.

But when a belt is given few words are spoken, and they must be words of great importance, frequently requiring an explanation. Belts are of pure wampum worked in all manner of clever forms by the Indian women, they being informed in each case what the figures must be, inasmuch as the figures must correspond with the message. A belt is three or four inches broad and about a yard long.[263] Neither color nor the other quantities of wampum are matters of indifference, but have an immediate reference to those things which they are meant to confirm. A white string of belt signifies a good message and such a belt may have figures in dark wampum. If a treaty is to be made or renewed with another nation the message is commonly accompanied by a Road Belt. This is a white belt with two rows of black wampum running the entire length with a white row between the two black rows also running the entire length of the belt. This signifies that the way from one nation to another has been cleared of all brush, trees and stones. At the ends of the belt the two nations are likewise represented by two small dark spots. If a string or belt of wampum is intended to confirm a warning against evil or an earnest reproof the belt delivered is in black. When a nation is called upon to go to war or war declared against it the belt is black or marked with red, having in the middle the figure of an hatchet in white wampum. A peace belt is quite white, a fathom long and a hand broad and of not inconsiderable value.

A chief has more use for the white wampum than the black. In particular cases and upon extraordinary occasions a voluntary contribution of wampum is made by the whole tribe or nation. The rich are considered as principal supporters of the chiefs and furnish them with wampum in an emergency, which rarely occurs more than once in three years. The usual expenses are defrayed from the treasury chest of the council, which is never empty, because when wampum is paid out usually an equal amount comes in. In general the chief does not speak in council, but has his speaker to whom he communicates his sentiments briefly and leaves him to expatiate on them. The latter must be able to put the whole matter in a speech well arranged, which requires a clear and open understanding, a faithful mem-

ory, experience in the affairs of the state and a knowledge of the formal language employed in council, which differs as much from the common language as does the language used by the whites in legal procedure, from the language of ordinary intercourse.

When a message is to be sent, this is entrusted to two or more messengers. One of these is to be the speaker, the others being ready to remind him of anything he might forget. A message is formally entrusted to ambassadors at a meeting of the Council. It is repeated a number of times and the one appointed speaker of the messengers must in turn repeat it several times, until he is able to deliver the message with facility and in proper form. The messengers are then fitted out with necessaries for the journey and dispatched. As the whole of a message is to be delivered verbally, a speaker must be a sensible and reliable man. Young men, destined for such service, are admitted as hearers to the council, where they may learn much. Any one employed as messenger is held in high regard. They must be young men, of great endurance on the march, who will not be stopped by bad weather or high waters. On occasions of extreme importance, as in time of war, messengers may have to be on the march night and day, finding their way in the darkest night on paths that a white man could scarce follow in daytime.

The council meetings are as quiet and orderly as if they were acts of devotion. Noises, talking and laughing are not heard, even though the young may be present. All pay strict attention to the speaker. The counsellors are called together by a servant and when they appear, they welcome one another, shake hands and express their joy at meeting. Each brings pouch, pipe and they smoke a considerable amount of tobacco that has been mixed with dried and crushed sumac leaves. Women are never admitted to the council; in matters of public interest they may stand about the house and listen, and they account it an honor when they are admitted; to hand victuals and keep up the fire. Provisions must always be in plenty in the council-house, for eating and deliberating alternate.

The principal chief, either himself or through a speaker, sets forth the subjects that shall engage the attention of the

council in a solemn speech. If the subjects are of great importance all who take part in the discussion stand as they speak. Each counsellor has the liberty to utter his sentiments and having made his speech, sits down. No one interrupts the speaker but all sit silent and attentive as if engaged in an act of devotion. The speeches are delivered in a pleasing manner and the words of the speakers flow as readily as if they were read from a manuscript. Whoever visits such an assembly, whether white man or savage Indian, cannot but be profoundly impressed.

A subject is often very thoroughly and extendedly discussed. The chiefs and counsellors in turn give their opinions and suggestions. When all have spoken, one of them is called upon to sum up the principal parts of all the speeches in a concise manner. This is done extempore and the necessary amendments proposed, every subject being brought into as short and comprehensive statement as possible. Before deliberations begin, the strings and belts of wampum must be placed in due order, for whatever is said without being confirmed by them is considered vain and without effect. They are so accustomed to this that when they communicate the contents of a message, merely in private conversation, they cannot do so without something in their hands, a strap, a ribbon or a blade of grass. Holding some such thing in his hand the speaker will recount the points in proper order as with the strings or belts of wampum thereto belonging.

When chiefs are compelled to give answer to a proposition of which they do not approve, but which they have consented to consider because they did not wish openly to offer an affront, they are able to frame their reply in so figurative and equivocal a style as to allow of almost any desired interpretation or application. Those who receive such an answer, know as little after the reply has been given as before, but are ashamed to ask further, lest they should be regarded as stupid and because chiefs are supposed to understand everything.

When treaty of peace is made with another nation it is determined that it shall last as long as sun and moon shine or rise and set, as long as the stars are in the heavens and the rivers

and waters flow. In this connection, nations who make the treaty, or are allies, exchange a pipe between them which is called the pipe of peace. Such a pipe is carefully preserved and generally lighted in council by a captain or chief, whenever anything occurs relating to the ally and each member smokes a little out of it. The one who carries about the pipe reminds the members of the council of the covenant and the time of its establishment. The head of the pipe is commonly of stone, the stem of wood wound with a fine ribbon neatly decorated with white corals, the latter the work of the women.

It is the duty of the chief to maintain peace, to advise peace as long as possible. It is not in his power to begin war as long as the captains are averse to this. Without their consent he may not accept a war belt. If it is received this is on condition that he will turn it over to the captains for consideration. The chief must endeavor to preserve peace to the utmost of his power. If the captains are unanimous in declaring war he is obliged, as it were, to deliver the care of his people for the time being into their hands, for they are the warriors.

In the matter of choice of a chief various things are to be observed. The principal captain may choose a chief and inaugurate him, and it is also in his power to take him out of office if the chief proves a poor regent, acts contrary to the customs, does according to his own wishes and refuses to accept counsel. The captains, who always have the people on their side may thus forsake a chief, not only refusing to support him but even publicly announcing that they do not agree with him, and thus his power is at an end. The chief must always be a member of that tribe in which he presides. The sons of a chief cannot inherit their father's dignity, for the reason that they are not and cannot be, according to established usages, members of the tribe, inasmuch as children do not inherit tribal rights from the father but from the mother.[265] No Indian will marry a person in his own tribe, as he is too closely related to all in it. Herein, the Indians allege, is to be found the reason for the existence of the tribes. Were it not for these, they could not be quite sure whether persons to be married are near relatives or not. Hence, it is, also, that children are considered the property of the wife.

If a divorce takes place they follow the mother. Those that are grown up may stay with the father if they please. Herein again is to be found reason for the conduct of parents towards their children. They never oppose their inclinations in order not to lose their affection. Parents never know how soon they may be separated, and both parties, in that event, fearing desertion by their children, are very desirous of gaining and retaining their love and affection. The Indians, therefore, regard their wives as strangers. It is a common saying among them, "My wife is not my friend," that is, she is not related to me and I am not concerned about her, she is only my wife. This satanic notion it is very difficult to uproot.

To return again to the matter of selection of a chief; as his sons cannot, for the reasons named, succeed him, a great grandchild or nephew may become chief, that is, either his daughter's daughter's son or his sister's son, so that the privilege of becoming Chief cannot be confined to too intimate relationship.

The principal duty of the first chief is to maintain the peace and covenants made between his people and the other Indian nations and the Europeans as also to carry on a kind of correspondence with them, all of which is generally done with the advice and consent of the chiefs of the Turkey and Wolf tribes, unless they are absent. It is further the particular duty of the principal chief to see to it that nothing is neglected and when necessary to send embassies. Finding that it is necessary to take action in some matter he summons the council, submits the subject and lets them deliberate which often demands of them much thought and attention. Another of his duties is that of keeping the people together and preventing any unnecessary dispersion. Much depends, therefore, on whether a chief is beloved of his people. Where this is lacking the Indians are like a swarm of bees without a queen bee. A chief must prevent all disorders in his town, have an eye to justice, and seek to do away with strife with the aid of his counsellors. But he may not seek to do this by force or severity but only by calm reasoning and friendly exhortation. Usually, the Indians are amenable to good words. In a general way the Indians pay due honor and respect to their chiefs, though there are some who

are moved neither by fear of men nor of God; fortunately there are few such.

Strong drink occasions much disorder in the Indian towns.[266] If a chief is himself an abstainer, he may accomplish much against this evil, but he must be ever watchful and not tire in his efforts.

At the death of a chief neither his children, wife, nor relatives inherit his possessions. Everything is distributed among the people except the wampum and belts, which belong to the chief in his official capacity, and the Council Bag. These are preserved and turned over to his successor in office. In general, some person who lived in intimacy with the deceased chief, and is well acquainted with the affairs of state is chosen to be his successor. It is generally agreed that such and such an one is the right person to assume the dignity of chief. If he is discreet and wins the favor of the captains and the people, the former in particular, will support him in every possible way. A captain, such as White Eye[267] was, is the Chief's right hand. He must undertake everything ordered of him by the chief, even at the hazard of his life. To show fear would not be in harmony with his dignity and a disgrace. If he is wounded or killed by the enemy, the whole nation joins in avenging his death, taking injury done him as seriously as if it concerned the person of the chief. This the captains are aware of and it gives them courage.

A captain has no more right to conclude peace than a chief to begin war.[268] If peace is offered to a captain, when he is in the enemy's country, he can give no other answer than that he will bring the proposal to the notice of the chief, for as a warrior he cannot make peace, and that in due time reply will be given. If the chief inclines to peace, he, as it were, assumes his office again, exerts his power, takes the matter out of the hands of the captain and desires him to sit down, which signifies declaring a truce. The hatchet is taken out of the captain's hand and he is obliged to cease from hostilities and keep his men quiet. The chief knowing that inactivity is not agreeable to the captain, asks his assistance in the negotiations and generally chooses him to be the messenger of peace to the

nations. By such a commission an accession of honor and respect is acquired by the captain. So soon as he gives up the tomahawk, his men must cease from hostile acts and demonstrations.

The rank of captain is neither elective nor hereditary. First intimation of this honor comes usually in a dream, early in life, one or another having seen a buffalo, a bear or other ferocious animal, or he has seen in a vision an Indian who spoke with him and gave him the necessary gifts. Such a dream is pondered over and related to friends and usually interpreted as destiny for the office of Captain. The dreamer's imagination leads him to believe that nothing may injure him and that no bullet can harm him. He, therefore, endeavors to attain to the necessary qualifications for this dignity and prove his powers for he must be tested, as will appear presently. Occasionally, boys are prepared and instructed for this position. These are given little to eat, are made to fast often and long, so that their bodies become emaciated, their minds deranged and their dreams wild and extravagant. Frequent questions are put to them when in this condition as to the dreams they have had. So long as they have not dreamt or not dreamt the right thing, the process is continued until they have been reduced to skin and bones, when they usually have or pretend to have a fantastic dream, declared to be ominous. The subject being minutely considered and interpreted by their teachers, they are solemnly informed what will be their future destination. By virtue of these extraordinary revelations they become physicians, great hunters, rich men, *Mantewits,* that is, sorcerers, or captains. The impression thus made on their minds is lasting, and as they grow older they earnestly strive to fulfill their destination, believing themselves to be men of peculiar gifts, far in advance of the others. It is not enough to profess to be destined for the dignity of a captain. The claim must be made good. The candidate must be resolute, brave, fearless, even in greatest danger. If a leader, who has not the rank of captain, has the good fortune not to lose a man of his troop in six or seven engagements and to bring scalps and prisoners to the camp, he is recognized and honored as a captain forthwith. If he loses

a man he must secure a prisoner in his place. Should he lose more than one, responsibility weighs the more heavily upon him, and in default of showing an equal number of prisoners, his authority is at an end and he dare not think of continuing in the office. If an Indian loses his son, or one of his near relatives in war, whom he has highly valued, he gives a belt of wampum to a captain and desires him to go and take a prisoner to supply the place of the deceased. He takes his company into the enemy's country, and if he is fortunate in his exploit, immediately hangs the belt around the prisoner's neck to denote that he shall be received into a family and that his life is safe. Upon delivering the prisoner to his employer, the captain receives the belt as a reward, and the prisoner is adopted by the family as a son or near relative. But if he is unsuccessful or has been so unfortunate as to lose a man, the captain's standing is destroyed and he is disgraced. It depends, therefore, in large degree upon good fortune whether a man becomes or remains captain. There are never very many captains in one tribe, but always some.

Although a chief is not supposed to have much to do with war, his influence tends greatly either to prevent or encourage the commencement of a war, for the Indians believe that a war cannot be successful without the consent of the chief, and the captains endeavor on that account to live in harmony with him. It is not a light matter for the Indians to begin a war, as it might be among the Europeans, for a war having been begun it is not easy to bring it to an end nor to be reconciled to the enemies. The chief reason for this is that a certain number are killed on both sides and these, according to ancient custom, must be replaced by prisoners. War with the whites is a different matter, for the Indians usually secure more than enough of scalps and prisoners to make up their losses, and they may sue for peace at any time even while continuing hostilities. But with the nations of their own color they cannot do this, for they know that they will be punished by enemies who will avenge themselves in the cruelest manner.

The warriors consist of the young men, among whom, however, are those of fifty years and over. The warriors are under

the command of the captains, especially in times of war, and do nothing without their consent. They neither leave the troop nor go hunting, as they know that their life and honor in a great measure depends upon the prudent conduct of their captains, and they obey them with pleasure. The night previous to the march of the army is spent in feasting, at which the chiefs are present, a hog, if procurable, being killed for the occasion. After the feast the captain and his people begin the war dance and continue till daybreak when they are quite hoarse and weary. Sometimes they dance in turn, each taking the head of the hog in his hand; again all dance together. Spectators are admitted, and may even join in the dance. Sometimes instead of a hog a couple of dogs are killed, not because dog's flesh is a delicacy, for the Indian dogs are very lean, but because it is said to inspire them with the true spirit of war and murder. I have even seen women partake of this feast, eating the dog's flesh with great greediness. I have steadily and courteously refused to partake when invited. The war dance having been completed they march out on the following day. The captain leads and his men follow in single file. When they reach the end of the street, they fire their pieces one after another and the captain begins the war song. As both their friends and the women generally accompany them to the first night's encampment, they halt about two or three miles from the town, dance the war dance once more, and the day following begin the march proper.

As they commonly have a long and tedious journey into the enemies' land their provisions are soon exhausted. They are then obliged to spend some days in hunting. No one enjoys any precedence during the march, not even the captain. They divide their provisions in equal shares, even if each man should get only a mouthful of bread or spoonful of meat. When they reach Indian towns with which they are at peace provisions are given them. They never go out in large parties but usually in small companies of ten or twenty, in order that they may not suffer so much for want of provisions. The captain is very attentive to the condition of his troop being answerable for all his men. If but a few are weary he orders all to halt till they

have recovered. As soon as they enter the enemies' country they can hunt no longer for fear of being betrayed. They provide themselves, therefore, with provisions for several days and watch their opportunity. Occasionally they must lie in hiding many days until their purpose is attained. As soon as the deed has been accomplished, they hurry away, exercising the greatest caution inasmuch as they know that they will be pursued and may themselves suffer injury. Those whom they kill are scalped and the scalps taken home. Prisoners secured are bound and led away and kept bound until they are no more in fear of pursuers. Thereafter the prisoners' fetters are loosed during the day. During the night they are fastened by their feet to a stake so split as to admit one leg, this stake being fastened to another that is driven into the ground. If one of them is wounded the warriors apply remedies which they carry with them on their expeditions and generally succeed in restoring them. Often the wounded must be carried, and if it is at all possible to get them away they are not left to perish. They even carry off their dead, or at least their scalps, or bury the dead lest they should fall into the hands of their enemies. In a skirmish with the whites they generally remove their dead, which makes it hard to determine how many have been killed in action.[269] They generally return from a war in a half-starved state, which is not to be wondered at because of the hard experiences they have gone through, especially on the return. On the return march they are constantly in fear, not knowing which night their enemies may fall upon them, hence they proceed by forced marches until they know themselves to be out of danger. Occasionally, they are attacked at night or at break of day, when they sometimes succeed in saving life by flight, leaving their weapons and everything else behind. Thus deprived, they may be able to travel several hundred miles until they arrive in the territory of peaceful nations where they again find sustenance. They generally suffer excessive hunger and fatigue by the way, living upon the bark of trees, wild herbs and roots. Much of this they do not have to fear when engaged in war with whites, for these will not pursue them for any great distance. Cases have been known where the Indians have attacked

and stormed a small fort and taken forty or fifty men, women and children prisoners and not lost a man. The prisoners they led into the woods a short distance, divided into two parties preserving the more ablebodied and tomahawking the rest before their eyes. The little children that cried and wailed were dashed against the trees, so that the brains stuck to the bark. They are thus barbarous when victorious, and similar examples have been multiplied in times of war.

Prisoners are not ill-treated as long as they are in the hands of the warriors but fare with them alike. They have so much the more to suffer in the towns of the victorious people. The warriors, upon their approach to the town, repeat the death whoop according to the number of scalps, trophies or prisoners in their possession. Upon this signal, men, women and children run out to meet them, placing themselves in two rows. The warriors with their prisoners, whom they lead bound by their arms, march between the two rows and halt. The scalps they carry on poles held aloft and painted red, and the prisoners are forced to dance for the amusement of the spectators. The dance over they are ordered to go to a house which they see before them in the village. As soon as they set out the people begin to strike at them with switches, clubs, hatchets or their fists. If they gain the house, though ever so bruised and bloody, they are perfectly safe. Indians acquainted with this barbarous custom, if they are not old men, escape a great part of these cruelties by running towards the mark with all their might. Female prisoners are frequently rescued by the women who take them between their ranks and carry them to the town. I have witnessed both practices. As soon as the prisoners have reached the house the warriors take good care of them, wash and dress their wounds and when their meals are ready serve the prisoners first. I cannot think that this is done from compassion but rather that the prisoners may look well and do honor to the triumph they celebrate in passing through all the towns of their nation till they arrive at their own homes. After they have refreshed themselves and rested, the prisoners are led out for the amusement of the inhabitants. They fasten strings of bells or deer-claws to the feet of one of them, to make a

rattle for the dance, and present him with a parcel of small sticks. What is meant by the latter, the prisoner knows. He takes as many as he pleases and returns the rest. These determine the number of short dances he has to perform, which he does with great alacrity to the rattling of a calabash,[270] filled with small stones and marking the time. After each round he relates one of his heroic deeds or experiences in war, and delivers a stick to the captain who sits in the circle. Though the spectators may not understand his language, they guess his meaning by his looks and gestures. This ceremony is repeated in every town through which they must pass. With white prisoners the procedure is in some respects different. Commonly these particularly must suffer much beating, because they are not conversant with Indian manners and customs.

When the parties at length arrive at their own homes with their prisoners a council is held to determine what disposition shall be made of them. Many of the prisoners are received into families to supply the places of the slain, the lately deceased or those who may have perished as a result of a drinking orgy, and are immediately considered as members of the family. Such prisoners are well treated, according to Indian custom, and their lot is bearable if they content themselves with their new surroundings. They are not put to much labor, which in general is little regarded by the Indians. If they run away and are retaken their lives are in danger. If the prisoners are white men their heads are shorn in Indian fashion, only a little hair remaining on the crown, and the face is painted red. This is done as soon as they are taken, so that when the villages are reached it is hardly possible to distinguish whites from Indians. In general they are well treated by the Indians and allowed considerable liberty, provided they conduct themselves properly and do not act in unseemly fashion toward the Indians.

Those unhappy prisoners who are condemned to die must suffer the most excruciating torture, execution of the sentence often being delayed until the prisoners feel themselves safe. The Indians flock to these executions as to some great solemnity, with a view to reeking on the unfortunate captive their cruel and revengeful disposition. A fire is made in the open, irons

are heated, and the unfortunate captive is bound to a stake placed at some distance from the fire. He is burned with the irons. Long strips of flesh are cut from his body with knives and salt is rubbed into the raw wounds. He may be half roasted at the fire, then released for a time, with a view to prolonging his tortures, which sometimes last three or four days. At length rendered insensible by pain, death may bring release, or his tormentors put an end to his sufferings and throw the mangled body into the flames. Captives often endure the torture with the greatest fortitude, sing of their heroic deeds accomplished in war, and do not let their captors notice fear or terror of death.

Now and then a condemned prisoner is released by ransom; sometimes release is refused no matter how much is offered. In the year 1779 among the Wiandots a white captive was tortured to death. Several English traders who were there offered goods to the amount of several hundred buckskins, that is so many Spanish dollars but without success. Among the Mingoes and Shawanose this inhuman method of treating captives is particularly in use. In course of the present war[271] they have given several horrid proofs of their cruel disposition.

Some years ago when a party of Shawanose went to war against the Cherokees, a young Shawanose was taken captive by the Cherokees and condemned to die. On the following day the fire was started, he was tied to the stake, and every preparation made for his execution, when a Cherokee woman arrived with a parcel of goods, and throwing them down at the feet of the warrior to whom the prisoner belonged begged for his release, alleging that she was a widow and wished to adopt him as her son. Her request was granted, the captive released and delivered over to her, and on the same day he walked up and down the village well dressed. He was so grateful to his protectress that he remained faithful to her, even returning in due time from a visit he paid to his own people.

The statement that the Indians are cannibals is unfounded in fact. It has happened in some cases that prisoners were devoured, and it may happen now on rare occasions to satisfy vengeful hate. Formerly Indians have been known in the height of their fury to tear an enemy's heart out of his body and devour

it raw. When an Indian nation wishes to excite another to war, it sometimes happens that they send one or more prisoners to such a nation with the words, "We send you this prisoner to make some broth," and frequently gain their aim in this fashion. The prisoner, however, is not devoured but executed without mercy. There is no rescuing him from horrible death.

Captains, when about to go to war, send to the captains of nations or towns who are in league with them a piece of tobacco to smoke, thus notifying them that they themselves will soon follow. By this they intend that the captains shall smoke their pipes and consider seriously whether they will take part in the war or not. One chief about to visit another will, similarly, send him a piece of tobacco with the message that he shall smoke, look in a certain direction and in due time he will see the sender coming. This is done to make sure that the visitor will find the chief whom he wishes to visit at home.

The last war of the nations was between the Six Nations, the Delawares and Shawanose and the Cherokees, the latter pitted against the rest. This war continued many years until peace was concluded in 1768,[272] as, a few years before, peace had been made between the Six Nations and the Catabe-Nation[273] through the mediation of Sir William Johnson at Albany. Concerning earlier Indian wars nothing is known and since that time war with the whites has engaged the attention of all the Indian nations.

With the Delawares the following nations are in league: The Mahikander,[274] the Shawanose, the Cherokees, the Twichtwes,[275] the Wawiachtanos,[276] the Kikapus,[277] the Wiondats, the Tuckachschas,[278] the Chipuways, Ottawas, the Putewoataimen[279] and the Kaskaski.[280] The two last named dwell along the Wabash.[281]

The Shawanose, who formerly lived in Florida and have ever been a warlike people, had a war with the Moshkos.[282] The latter were the stronger and the Shawanose were reduced to a few remnants. The survivors left their country, came as fugitives up the Ohio to the Susquehanna. [Susquehannah]. They moved from place to place until they fell in with a strong party of Delawares. With these they entered into negotiations, stat-

ing that they were fugitives and wished to settle in the country of the Delawares and under their protection. The Delawares adopted them as grandchildren, even as had been done with the Mahikanders. The Shawanose now call the Delawares grandfather.[283] They lived for some time in the Forks of the Delaware and then moved to Wajomick[284] on the Susquehanna. Having increased considerably in numbers they moved to the western branch of that river and, later, as they deemed themselves secure in the alliance with the Delawares and sufficiently strong to venture it, to the Ohio above Great Island.[285] Here they commenced hostilities against the Cherokees. The latter pursued often following the Shawanose into the country of the Delawares. Unwittingly they killed some of the latter. This brought on a new war between the Delawares and the Cherokees, beginning, as indicated, by the Shawanose and not ended until the year 1768. The Shawanose lived for several years on the Ohio near Kittannünk,[286] whence they moved to Logstown,[287] twenty miles below Pittsburg, and from there to the Sioto, whence the Americans drove them and entirely destroyed their settlements, for the reason that they were guilty of constant attack on the settlements of the whites and of many murderous acts.[288] After this the Shawanose turned westward.

The Delawares have not engaged in war with any of the nations named except the Cherokees. Because these nations were in league with the Delawares, and called each other brothers (the Shawanose excepted), the Cherokees made peace with the Delawares, calling them grandfather, all these nations followed them and entered into alliance with them, and the Shawanose, having been adopted by the Delawares are so secure that no nation will venture to attack them, even though they are a cruel, warlike people.

It appears from what has been stated that the Delawares have powerful connections, being in league with most nations. Had the Delawares allowed themselves to be enticed in the present war, America's experiences would have been different. As these remained neutral, the nations in league with them did the same, except the Shawanose, who have nearly cut off their relations with "the grandfather." The Delawares are grand-

father to all these nations and they are the grandchildren. The Cherokees live on the east side of the Ohio, in the mountains opposite North Carolina. The Chipuways[289] are a numerous people on the north coast of Lake Erie. The Ottawas and the Putewoataimen live to the west of Lake Erie, but a great way beyond it. The Twichttwees and the Wawiachtanos dwell between the Sioto and the Wabash and the Kikapus, the Moshkos and Tuckachschas on both sides of the Wobash, yet a considerable distance from one another.

The country through which the Wobash [Wabash] flows is very level. Here are great plains producing nothing but grass as in the flats of Wajomik.[290] In a journey of some days you meet with neither hill, tree nor thicket. Upon these plains herds of buffalo are seen grazing, comprising sometimes of hundreds of head. The banks of the Ohio are subject to frequent inundation, especially in the spring when the snow melts in the north. For several miles on either side of the river the country will at such a time be under water. Should Indians be hunting at this time, they find it necessary to be careful of their canoes, lest they should suffer want or death, for once the water overflows the banks, it runs out many miles and there is no escape without a canoe. Buffalo and other game perish in large numbers in such floods. Where there is a slight elevation animals gather by the hundreds, until the waters recede. In that region there is a great salt-lick, much visited by buffalo and other game.[291] There bones and teeth of elephants of considerable size have been found, both by whites and Indians. In earlier times there must have been elephants in this region. Whether they were exterminated by the Indians or perished in some other way, it is not easy to determine.

The (Wiondats), or Hurons, have been given the latter name because formerly they lived near Lake Huron, (the Delawares call them Delamattenos),[291½] they call the Delaware nation their cousin, and the latter in turn call them uncle. With these the Delawares have never had a war but have always been good friends. Between the Delawares and the Six Nations there has never been real friendship, because the latter secured peace in no straight-forward manner. Recognizing that the Delawares

were too powerful for them, they pretended that it would not be good for the nations to wage war continually and that one nation ought to be the woman and that nation must be the Delawares, as they were the greatest warriors. Afterward they alleged that they had conquered the Delawares. In the war which began in 1755 and lasted until the sixties the Delawares challenged the Six Nations on the occasion of a Treaty in Pittsburg, but the latter returned no answer.[292]

Of late years the Delawares have amazingly increased in reputation through the wise management of the Chief Netawatwes. This man spared no pains to gain the friendship of all the nations. He sent frequent embassies to the grandchildren, and showed himself a true grandfather. When the Delawares sent a message to the allied nations, the speech began with each string or belt of wampum, "Grand-children;" the nations address the Delawares, "Grandfather." The Wyondats and Six Nations are addressed "Uncle," and the Europeans, "Brother." The speech is generally addressed directly to the chief, though meant for the whole nation.

The nations generally addressed the French as "Father," when the latter were in possession of Canada and had intercourse with them. The same appellation was transferred to the English when they conquered Canada. In the other colonies Europeans and Indians called one another "Brothers." This practice was followed by Sir William Johnson.

Indians explain the origin of Nations and their names by saying, and this not unlikely, that the inhabitants of towns or districts named themselves according to the places where they dwelt. Thus even at the present time Delawares who live in Goschachgünk are commonly called Goschachgiwak, that is Goschachgühlser — "people of Goschachgünk."

A message sent or a speech in council goes or is delivered in the name of the three tribes, signifying the three chiefs. The Turtle tribe is named first, next the Wolf Tribe and the Turkey Tribe last.

When a message is returned, not having been accepted, the belt or string of wampum that has been rejected is thrown on the floor of the council house, after it has been announced why

the message was not welcome. The refusal is considered a great affront and no one of the chiefs or counsellors will touch the rejected wampum belt or string. This lies on the floor, the men of the Council leaving the place, until some old woman removes it.

Concerning usages and ceremonies connected with the election of a chief the following should have been added. If a chief of the Turtle Tribe is to be elected his own tribe does not choose him but the chiefs of the other two tribes do this. Similarly, if a chief of the Wolf or Turkey Tribe were to be elected, the tribe concerned would have no part in the election. The election is conducted in the following manner. As each tribe lives in a town of its own, the two chiefs, upon whom the election devolves, meet with their counsellors and people at an appointed place, and after all necessary preparations have been made — some thirty belts of wampum are required and a number of speeches arranged for — they move in a procession toward the town where the election is to take place. The two chiefs head the procession and one of them sings along the whole way the speeches that are to be made to the chief about to be elected, singing in a tone used on this and no other occasion. Thus they, still singing, enter the town where the chief is to be elected. They find everything prepared for the occasion, enter the council house at the east end, pass on one side the two or three fires that have been made and sit down on the other side. Next the inhabitants of the town enter, welcome the guests by shaking their hands and sit down on the other side of the fire. One of the two chiefs, in a singing tone, opens the proceedings by explaining the object of the meeting, condoling with the chief elect, wipes the tears from his eyes, clears his ears and throat, removes all sorrow on account of the departed chief from his heart and comforts him. Next he declares him to be chief and formally fills the office made vacant by the death of the former chief. He then exhorts the young people to be obedient to their new chief, whenever he shall require their assistance, and explains to them how they are to conduct themselves toward the chief. The speech is confirmed by means of two belts of

wampum and the speaker receives an answer, a solemn promise, from the young people that they will fulfill their obligation. He likewise addresses the wife of the new chief, who is present attended by several women, and admonishes her to be obedient to the chief. This is confirmed by means of a belt and the woman, in the name of all the women, promises obedience. Finally, he lays before the chief the duties of his office, regarding the preservation or re-establishment of peace, admonishing him not to meddle in the affairs of war and to keep his people from it, to continually attend to the welfare of his nation and to hear willingly the remonstrances of the people in case he should commit a fault. All this is intoned and the belts given in confirmation are laid before the chief. He promises to act in strict conformity to these injunctions.

The new chief thus enters upon his office by consent of the tribe and whole nation. He is placed, therefore, in a position of influence. He is loved and honored of his people and aided by them in his undertakings. Whoever obtains the office of chief in any other way is not respected. This is the case with the successor of Netawatwes, who was chosen by Europeans prominent in Pittsburg.[203] Such a one amounts to nothing and is held in no greater esteem than any other Indian. He can accomplish nothing, for neither the other chiefs nor the counsellors nor the people are with him. Thus the Delawares at present have no real ruler, to whom they are devoted and from whom they are willing to take counsel. This state of affairs will continue until they elect a chief in accordance with their own usages.

If a chief has made mistakes, he may be admonished by the whole people and is obliged to give attention to them. For any grave fault, which may prove injurious to the commonwealth — for instance if he suffers the young people to commit outrages or murders, which may be laid to the charge of the whole nation and involve it in war, or if he should not do anything to prevent such misdemeanors in the first instance — he is reprimanded by the two other chiefs, with the same ceremonious solemnity used at his installation, must be willing to take the

reprimand, and must promise to fulfill his duty better in the future.

The name Delawares undoubtedly has its origin with the Europeans, for neither they themselves nor other nations use this name. They call themselves the Lenni-Lenape Indians or *Woapanachke*, that is people living towards the rising of the sun, having formerly inhabited the eastern coast of North America. It is possible that the word Delawares should have been applied to the nation; because the Unami Tribe, which lived nearest the sea, uses the word *'udellowen* very much. This word, meaning "I say," being a verb, appears frequently and in many forms in the conversation of the people. The first Europeans, not understanding the language and hearing this word very often may have made Delaware out of it and called the people thus. The Indians themselves believe this to be the explanation, though it is possible that the Europeans have another, of which I am not aware.[204]

If a party of Indians have spent a night in the woods, it may be easily known, not only by the structure of their sleeping huts but also by their marks on the trees, to what tribe they belong. For they always leave a mark behind made either with red pigment or charcoal. Such marks are understood by the Indians who know how to read their meaning. Some markings point out the places where a company of Indians have been hunting, showing the number of nights they spent there, the number of deer, bears and other game killed during the hunt. The warriors sometimes paint their own deeds and adventures, the number of prisoners or scalps taken, the number of troops they commanded and how many fell in battle.

If two nations are engaged in war and the warriors of one commit some murderous act, it is not uncommon that they leave the hatchet in the head of the victim who has been scalped or lay a war-club, painted red, upon the body of the victim. This is a formal challenge, in consequence of which, a captain of the insulted party takes up the weapon of the murderers and hastens into their country to be avenged. He will do much the same thing, leaving his weapon upon the murdered, and

endeavor to bring back a scalp or several scalps to show that he has avenged the rights of his nation.

Across the Mississippi there lives a nation called the Su.[205] They live along the river Su far beyond the Illinois, where there are vast plains without trees and on which wild goats, buffalo and other game graze. As there is no wood, the Indians burn dried buffalo manure. For the winter they provide themselves with peat, which they dry with grass. Their utensils they make of clay and burn them, wherever they may be, for they travel from place to place following game. Their weapons are the bow and arrow. Water being scarce on the plains, they catch the dew for cooking and drinking purposes. For this purpose they use large sponges that grow on the rocks in the rivers. This I have been told by an Englishman who lived sometime in that country. These Indians trade with the Spaniards. I have heard from various sources that the further west one goes the more extensive are the plains.

Indians usually treat one another with kindness and civility and in their bearing toward one another are modest. They are communicative but thoughtful. Of empty compliments they know nothing. In meeting it is customary to shake hands, greet one another with the friendly title of Father, Older or Younger Brother, Uncle, Cousin, Grand Son, Grandfather and say "I am glad to see you." Sometimes all this is repeated when the guests have been sometime in the house. Expression of greeting through others is hardly customary, occasionally a gift is sent by way of greeting. Greetings are expressed in all sincerity. If sentiments do not correspond to words and forms, the latter are dispensed with. If warriors, going to war or coming from war, when the murderous spirit is on them greet one (I will not say an Indian, for that were nothing unusual, but a white person) one may certainly believe to possess their favor and good grace and need fear no harm, for if they have the least feeling against anyone, they will use no form of greeting. This I know from frequent experience. An Indian carries pouch and pipe with him wherever he goes, for they are indispensable. For state occasions they may have an otter skin

pouch or a beaver-pouch or one decorated with coral, made by the women. Sometimes they have a buffalo horn, from which a pouch, made possibly of tanned deer-skin, depends. In the pouches they carry tobacco, fire materials, knife and pipe. Sumac is generally mixed with tobacco or sumac smoked without tobacco, for but few can stand smoking pure tobacco. Their common conversation turns upon hunting or the news of the day. Matter that has no foundation in fact may be drawn into conversation, and even though all may be aware of this, the narration continues uninterrupted. They may laugh now and again but they will listen attentively. No one interrupts another. When one has finished another begins. They never put any one publicly to blush; they are polite to each other and enjoy being politely treated. They like to be regarded as worthy people even though they may be the opposite. They are pleased to know that they are liked. When a guest comes into a house, food is placed before him; that comes before anything else. If the guests are from a distance and very good friends, the whole kettle of food is set before them, they are given dishes and spoons and allowed to help themselves first to as much as they wish. The guests having partaken of the food, pass the kettle back to the people of the house. They live very simply. Meat, corn, gruel, corn-bread, are the principal articles of diet.[296] In lieu of meat, various dishes are prepared with corn, or Sopan, milk and butter are used. They like to discuss affairs of state and communicate their opinions. In fact they are more ready to discuss such matters in course of visits than in the Council House, for there they prefer to let the older people speak. Occasionally visits are made with the purpose of discovering the opinions of others; in a chief's home all manner of reports, true and false, furnish material for discussion. The women speak of their work, their plantations, the pouches, bags, baskets, carrying bands they have made, many of them though not all smoking tobacco. Stories are carried by women from house to house; they are so often manufactured that if men, having listened attentively to some tale, hear that it originated with a woman they will give it no credit until confirmed by some more reliable authority.

Trade with Europeans is carried on usually on the basis of fixed price, both as concerns goods and pelts. The Indians trade their deer, beaver, otter, raccoon, fox-skins, wild-cat-skins and others for goods which the traders often take a considerable distance into the Indian country. If they can deceive the whites, they do so with pleasure, for it is not easily done. They are delighted, also, if they succeed in purloining something. They are fond of buying on credit, promising to pay when they return from the chase. The traders may be willing to take the risk, hoping to control all that they catch. But if the Indians, on their return, find other traders in the country, they barter with them and trouble themselves no longer over their creditors. If the latter remind them of their debts, they are offended, for to pay old debts seems to them to be giving goods away for nothing. Usually traders learn from their losses to give nothing or but little on credit. This is the safest course and there is no danger in arousing the enmity of the Indians. When war breaks out the traders are the first in danger, not only of losing their property but also for their lives. When the Indians suspect a war approaching, they keep it secret and take as many goods upon credit as they can get; as soon as the war breaks out all debts are cancelled.

The Indians trade much among themselves, especially the women, who deal in rum, which they sell at exorbitant prices, which occasions much disorder. Indian traders usually demand high prices, knowing well that unless the buyer were in great distress, or fully intent upon closing the bargain, he would rather not deal with them. Indians when really anxious to obtain anything will pay almost any price. If they are in need of corn they will give goods or pelts in exchange for it. Frequently, the chiefs have prohibited the sale of strong drink in their towns, but it is always brought in in some manner, against which the chiefs are powerless to protest. For instance, they may appoint a sacrifice of rum, in which nothing but rum is used. This the chiefs cannot hinder owing to established custom. When once the Indians, who gather in large numbers for such a sacrifice, have tasted the strong drink but have not satisfied themselves, they will go to the old women who deal in liquor.

The latter will often obtain everything that an Indian owns except his Breech-clout. For their skins the Indians get from the traders powder, lead, rifle-barrelled guns—for other weapons they do not value — blankets, strouds, linen, shirts, cotton, callemanco,[297] knives, needles, thread, woolen and silken ribbon, wire and kettles of brass, silver buckles, — these are considered as valuable as gold and with them they can purchase almost anything — bracelets, thimbles, rings, combs, mirrors, axes, hatchets and other tools.

If the young are at home and not on the chase hardly a night passes without a dance. The women, who always follow the men, dancing in a circle, act with decency and becoming modesty, as if they were engaged in the most serious business. Neither laughing nor levity are to be noticed and they never speak a word to a man, for this would injure their character. They neither jump nor skip, but move one foot after the other slightly forwards then backwards, yet so as to advance gradually. The men shout and leap and stamp with such violence that the ground trembles under their feet. Whatever man acts in the oddest and most ridiculous manner is the most regarded. They dance in a circle around the fire. Often in the midst of the dance they will all hold their heads forward over the fire, stand bowed or leap and stamp, singing all the time; suddenly they stand erect again and move forward. They make all manner of unusual movements to show their agility and skill. They have no other music than the drum. When one dance has been finished the one who beats the drum sings and beats until another begins. There is always a leader whom all watch carefully and follow. They have various kinds of dances, some acquired from the other nations.

The young men often wrestle to test their strength. The one thrown is not angered but admits the other to be his master. Another mode of testing strength is in trying to lift some large stone, or throwing a stone of considerable size the greatest distance possible.

Nine-pins, ball-playing and cards they have learned from the whites. The Indian game of dice is the most popular of

amusements. They may devote days in succession to it, always gambling on the throwing. Among the Mingoes I have observed that two towns brought together goods, blankets, strowds, shirts, linen and played for them. In this case the game lasted eight days. The dice are placed in a dish, lifted up and thrown forcibly on the ground. The people of the two towns met daily during the period named and every inhabitant of each town threw the dice once. This done they parted for the day and each party separately offered a sacrifice in the evening. In connection with the sacrifice they had their special ceremonies, consisting in a man going several times 'round a fire, throwing tobacco into it and singing a song. Afterwards the whole company danced. This continued for eight days. When the winners bore away the spoil in triumph.

The boys exercise by shooting at a mark with bow and arrow. They may throw something into the air and shoot at it, the one hitting the object being regarded as a good marksman. As soon as they are able to run about they learn to use the bow and arrow. When they grow older they shoot pigeons, squirrels, birds and even raccoon with their bows and arrows.

Two comrades who have been reared together or have become attached to one another will be very close and constant companions. If one goes on a journey or to hunt the other will, if possible, accompany him. It seems almost impossible for either of them to live without the other, and for one to give up his companion, as may be necessary when one becomes a Christian, is very hard. Often such friends will make a covenant with one another to remain together and share alike possessions and knowledge.[298] If they go to war together and one perishes the other will fight desperately to avenge him, accounting his own life as nothing.

In traveling in companies they are very companionable and follow some recognized leader. The younger element, on such journeys, engages in the hunt and if deer or bear is shot, the carcass is brought to camp and laid at the fire of the one who is held to be leader. He divides the meat among all, share and share alike. No complaint is ever heard that one has received more than another. If the chiefs have a journey to make, they

usually take some of the younger men along, who supply the larder during the journey by engaging in the chase. A journey is rarely hurried for usually it makes little difference whether they arrive at their destination a day late or not, and they are everywhere at home in the woods. They rarely leave camp early in the morning, wishing always to have a good meal before starting and sometimes they delay to mend their shoes. This inconveniences Europeans, who may be obliged to use the Indians as guides very much, especially when they are anxious to reach a certain place at a certain time. It is best policy, however, to accommodate oneself to the Indians, for admonition or remonstrance easily offends them and makes them act in a very contrary manner.

Indians dislike having their evil conduct or acts uncovered and held up to them. They are able, however, in subtle fashion so to touch upon such subjects that the parties concerned will understand. This method they prefer, not wishing to offer an open affront. It has happened that one openly accused of an evil deed, murder or the like, has, in desperation, ended his life. They sometimes reveal secret things by means of dreams they pretend to have had when they do not wish to show from what source they have their information. Their desires and inclinations, likewise, they will reveal through pretended dreams, when they are ashamed to make these known directly; often they achieve their purposes in this manner. Chiefs occasionally receive a secret message which must be made known. They will say that at night, while sitting by the fire, some one rose out of the earth, handed over a string or belt of wampum and, whispering the message in their ears, disappeared again in the earth. In this fashion a message may go a hundred miles or more under the earth, coming to the surface where it was intended that it should, often at the fire of a chief of another nation. This happens when war is to be made but kept secret for the time being, the message, therefore, being very difficult to understand for any but the chief.

They are desirous of retaining the favor and friendship of other nations. When they receive visitors, therefore, the latter are shown all honor and entertained in the best possible way, in

order that at home they may have nothing but good to report. As hospitality is generally practiced, strangers are everywhere well received and suffer no want, even though they may remain for days, or weeks or months. It is recognized as a duty to care for the wants of a guest as long as he may choose to remain and even to give him provisions for the journey when he does make up his mind to go.

On the occasion of making or renewing a treaty with another nation a dance very different from the ordinary dance is engaged in. The dancers join hands and leap in a circle for some time. Suddenly the leader lets the hand of one of his partners go, springs forward and turns around several times, by which he draws the whole company round so as to be enclosed by them, when they stand close together. They disengage themselves as suddenly, yet keeping hold of hands during all the different evolutions and changes in the dance; this, as they explain it, represents the chain of friendship; a song, used only at such a solemnity, is sung by all.

The War Dance is very wild and dreadful to behold. One dancer carries his hatchet, another a long knife, another a large club, a fourth a cudgel. These they brandish in the air, to signify how they intend to treat or have treated their enemies, affecting all the while an air of anger and fury. The Mingoes use the war dance even in times of peace with a view to celebrate their heroic deeds.

They regard the Europeans as a peaceable people, created of God to live according to their own manners and customs, even as the Indians have been created to live in their fashion, especially to sustain themselves by means of the chase. They think it contrary to the will of the deity to adopt, themselves, the manner of living peculiar to Europeans, pointing to fish, animals and birds as each having their characteristic habits. Each creature, bear, deer or other animal, continues to live in its own way, and it has never yet been observed that an animal had adopted the habits of another. The same principle, they hold, applies to Indians and Europeans. They recognize that the Europeans are industrious and clever, that without oppor-

tunity to trade with them their position would be without many of the advantages they now enjoy. They admit that the whites are very ingenious, because of their ability to manufacture a great variety of things, but regard their manner of living as wearisome and slavish as compared with their own. Their own skill as hunters and woodsmen, they hold, excels that of the whites. Towards these they harbor a secret enmity which they disguise in their presence, for they suspect that they will deprive them of their land and drive them within narrower confines. This suspicion is not without foundation. Among the Delawares this dislike has been moderated through long intercourse with the whites, yet they show that they have no particular love towards them, in that they will sell their lands to them and after these have become inhabited will seek to drive them off by starting war.

The French seem to possess a greater share of the goodwill of the Indians than the English, being regarded by the Indians as being more akin to themselves, probably because they enter more easily into the Indian manner of living and appear always good-humored. Indians have more faith in the French than in other Europeans. Since the late war with England all the Americans except the English in Canada, otherwise called by the Indians Virginians, are known as Big Knives by the nations because, from the beginning, the Indians saw them and the Governor of Virginia on all occasions of negotiations with the Indians wearing long swords. Hence, they called them Choanschican and the Six Nations named them Assarigoa that is Big Knives, which name has been applied to all Virginians and has been extended from it to all Americans because the Virginians in this war negotiated most of the treaties with the Indians.[299]

Judged by the mere appearance of the Indians one is surprised how modest and careful they are in relation to each other and imagines that the whites, if they were as free a people and had neither government nor punishment to fear, would not be as united and peaceable as the Indians appear to be. The towns and villages of the latter are not indeed governed by force or law. Each individual is at liberty to live where he pleases,

moving from one place to another according to inclination, yet they generally dwell together for the sake of the help they can render each other in building and in fencing up the great field where all may plant and be sure that their pieces of ground will not be molested by cattle. If they have a good chief he may be very useful to the people, for under him they believe themselves to dwell in safety as it is his business to keep the peace with other nations and order among his own people in so far as this may be secured among the Indians who are a free people recognizing neither compulsion nor authority to punish. By means of discretion and diplomacy a chief may accomplish much. At times he may not tell his counsellors, much less the people, what his ultimate purposes are, for fear of not attaining them. Moving forward step by step he may gain his end. Of violence, murder (except in drunkenness), robbery, theft, one rarely hears among the Indians. They may leave all they have caught in the chase and their utensils in the forest, secured indeed against wild animals such as wolves and bear, but not hidden from the Indians. They often hang their things to trees in the woods where everyone passing by may see them and leave them there for days and weeks, yet they are never molested. Stolen goods may not be easily concealed among them, and whoever has been guilty of theft must restore or repay lest a horse or two or even his gun, which is an Indian's means of sustenance, be taken from him or his friends summoned to make good the injury, even years after the theft has been committed. The latter will rather pay than be much and often called upon to do so.

Few houses are locked when the people go out. A stick is placed against the door on the outside and the passerby sees that no one is at home and does not enter. Each one is free to do as he pleases without let or hindrance, yet he will rarely do another injury.

Their old people, even though they are only able to crawl about and are a source of trouble and have nothing to bequeath to anyone, are faithfully cared for by their friends who seem to wish that their lives should be prolonged. That they are unmerciful and insensible towards the poor and needy may not be said of them. Even strangers who have no friends are

given assistance. A poor widow, even though she have children, finds it possible to make a living if she is willing to work. They pay her above the worth of her services in food and clothing; if it is summer she may work on the plantations; in winter she may prepare wood for fire. They are willing to help the poor but always expect them to render some service in return. It has been known that good has been done to prisoners condemned to death, even to whites, though this had to be done secretly.

A few negroes are found among the Indians having been either bought from the whites or secured as prisoners. These are looked upon as of their own kind and allowed full liberty. Indians and negroes intermarry and their mulatto children are as much loved as children of pure Indian blood.

They are fond of giving when they can expect something in return and of doing good which they have reason to hope may be returned. They easily forget the good that has been done, but if they have been cheated they never forget it. If a white has done them ever so many favors, helped them in need, or given them presents, and omits an opportunity to do the like only once, then all he may have done is forgotten. If an Indian takes a wife and dresses her generously from head to foot in new garments she will indeed be glad and proud; but she will more readily leave him than if he had given her little or nothing, for in that case she would still be in expectation of receiving something.

One may even make enemies of Indians through presents if these make them proud and one does not continue giving. Occasionally when a respectable present has been given the donor is slandered in order that he may not expect something in return from the recipient.

They are able to control their desires and passions, but once given free rein these are the more violent. Overcome with wrath, they at once think upon murder, and may, in the heat of passion, do something for which they will later feel remorse.

The women are much given to lying and gossiping. They carry evil report from house to house. As long as they are observed they appear modest and without guile. All the wrongs

of which they are guilty are done in secret. That adultery, theft, lying, cheating are terrible vices they know, having learned it from their ancestors as well as from whites. Fear of disgrace keeps them from open wrong-doing for they do not wish to have a bad name. Secretly, however, they are given to all manner of vice. Some are no longer sensitive to shame. There are traces of unnatural sins among them, hardly known to any except to those such as missionaries who have learned to understand the people well. Virtue one must not seek among the savages, but the grace of God is able to accomplish wonders among them. Not all are equally bad. Some among them are sensible people and considerate, who act reasonably and have an eye to right and justice.

I had no faith concerning sorcery attributed to them, though I have lived many years among them, thinking it all to be boasting and lying on their part. I believed the Indians were too stupid for such satanic practices, but I have been persuaded otherwise. I know for a certainty that witchcraft is common among them. Those who make great pretention to skill in the dark arts know the least about them. The adepts do not boast of their knowledge for fear of their lives. They are very careful, even under the influence of strong drink, not to draw suspicion upon themselves. There seem to be Indians who have the ability to bring about the death of any one by other than ordinary means, even in the short space of twenty-four hours. This they do without the use of poison, which, if used, might be discovered and for which an antidote might be administered. Usually two or three or more agree that a certain person shall die. While he is asleep or in the presence of others they somehow exert their evil influence upon him. The effects are various. Sometimes the victim falls to the ground immediately in convulsions, lies for a time as dead, then recovers consciousness but soon dies. Sometimes the effects are not noticeable for several days. Occasionally the unfortunate individuals are afflicted with diseases, from which there is no recovery for years. Hence, it is that when illness cannot be accounted for on natural grounds, the Indians are apt to believe themselves to have been bewitched.

Accounts of illness attributed to this cause are, however, not all to be credited.

By the Xantikoks[300] the Indians have been instructed in the use of a peculiar kind of poison called *Mattapassigan*, meaning poison. The Xantikoks dwelt formerly in Maryland, along the sea, some of them still living there, and later moved to Wajomick along the Susquehannah, finally proceeding further northward. In the late war they were driven out with the Six Nations. They brought knowledge of this poison, which carries many evils with it, to the nations and also to the Delawares. What it is and whereof it is made I am unable to say, as I have never seen it, and the descriptions vary. Possibly it is prepared in different ways. It is said not to be baneful in itself and to receive its power for working injury through witchcraft. It is declared to be capable of infecting whole townships and tribes with disorders as pernicious as the plague. With its use the sorcerers are said to be able to remove a person though he may be several hundred miles away. The Delawares have endeavored to extirpate the shocking evil. Their efforts extending over two years were in vain, for those possessed of the knowledge of its uses kept the knowledge secret. The Nantikoks who were the wretched inventors of this poison and its arts, have nearly destroyed their own nation by it. Its use is rendered efficacious by a company of murderous sorcerers uniting in the same design. Its effects are the more terrible, because it is used not only in connection with individuals but whole communities. In their practices the sorcerers, except in case of the poison described, seem to use no Beson but a little piece of an old blanket or something else. This they rub in their hands until formed into a little ball. Naming the one who is marked for death, they throw this ball at him, saying that he shall die. They call this shooting the witchball.[301] Any person wishing to get another whom he hates out of the way will hire a sorcerer or several of them to do it, paying them in wampum. The Indians say that their poison and witchcraft have no effect upon the white people because they use so much salt in their victuals. But this is merely a pretense as there are instances of Europeans having fallen victims to their skill in poisoning.

Warriors, and especially Captains, procure a beson thought to be capable of preserving them from arrow and ball. In the year 1774 when a war had broken out between the Shawanose and the whites, the latter had their war-beson carried about among the ranks upon a pole, in a battle they fought with the whites on the Canhawa.[301½] But the Beson bearer himself was shot, the whole Indian army routed and the Beson fell a pray to the conqueror.

Another sort of deceivers are called by them Kimochne, "night walkers." These people get into the houses at night and steal whatever they can get. The Indians say that they bewitch the family into a profound sleep so as not to be discovered. They are said to be able to go a hundred miles or more and back during a single night, proceeding through the air over hill and dale and river. This seemed to me incredible, but I have been told by various individuals that it is true. We have several converted sorcerers in the congregation.[301⅔]

Most extraordinary experiences have been met with by boys from twelve to fourteen years of age, when they have been alone in the forest in apprehension and in need. An old man in a gray beard may have appeared and said in soothing tone, "Do not fear, I am a rock and thou shalt call me by this name. I am the Lord of the whole earth and of every living creature therein, of the air and of wind and weather. No one dare oppose me and I will give thee the same power. No one shall do thee harm and thou needest not to fear any man." Such and similar prophecies he makes. Such a boy ruminates upon what he has heard and is confirmed in the opinion as he grows up that a peculiar power has been imparted to him to perform extraordinary exploits, and he imagines that no one can do him injury. As he can receive no further instruction from any one, he must learn from experience how far he can go, his imagination inspiring him to make every effort. Such boys give themselves to the practice of the dark arts, having abundance of time for investigation and practice, because in their youth they are not required to work unless they choose to do so. Such a boy is feared above others, but of these there are very few. Others have been led by dreams to study theory and

practice of the black art. Most are deceivers who pretend to be able to leap over a river or from one mountain to another. Old women are sometimes accused of being witches. If a child dies suddenly some one will pretend to have seen an old woman with the child at night, who is then believed to have bewitched the little one. Some old woman or another Indian may thus, though quite innocent, be thought guilty of witchcraft and be thus considered to the end of life. Again there are witches supposed to go through the towns at night in the form of an owl or a fox. It is nothing strange that an owl or a fox should get into the town, as many of the towns are surrounded by the forest. Such witches are supposed to kill Indians, bring disease and plague into the town. The worst is said to be that when such animals are shot at they do not die, being able to close up the wound caused by the bullet.

It is remarkable that Indians of such character have been led to lead a new life and turn from all deceitful practices. From them it has been learned that most of their dark practices grow out of imagination and superstition. Of those, however, who seem versed in the use of *Mattapassigan* none have to the present time been converted, though some with whom I came into contact were inclined to better themselves but were unable to refrain from their evil practices, being afraid, apparently, that their lives would be endangered.

That the Indians have some sort of religion and mode of worship whereby they endeavor to please the Deity, cannot be denied. Their worship, however, is unreasoning devotion. It is remarkable that savages who have been cut off from association with other nations for no one knows how many centuries should have so much knowledge of Deity that is handed down from generation to generation.

They believe and have from time immemorial believed that there is an Almighty Being who has created heaven and earth and man and all things else. This they have learned from their ancestors, but where the dwelling place of the Deity is they know not. They have always heard that whoever lives a virtuous life, refrains from stealing, murder and immorality,

would at death go to some good place where conditions would be better than here, where there would be a superfluity of everything and a happy life of joy and dancing. On the contrary, whoever lived an evil life would arrive at no good place but have to wander about sad and unhappy. Hence nothing is so terrible and awful to them as death, because they do not know how it will be after this life nor whither they shall go. Whenever they think of death they are filled with anxiety, but rather than consider how they ought to live they seek to rid themselves of thoughts of death. They fear the thunderbolt, because it occasionally strikes and shatters the trees, but they seek to disguise their fear. Yet they believe that the Deity is graciously and mercifully disposed towards men, because he imparts power to the plants to grow, causes the rain to fall and the sun to shine and gives game to man for his support. Indeed, as to fish and deer they imagine them given particularly to the Indians and not so much to the whites for the Indians were created to sustain themselves by the chase and the whites by the work of their hands. There are indeed some among them who pretend to be able to bring rain when there has been drought, and such a person knowing that the women, whose business it is to care for the plantations, are anxious for rain shows his cleverness in deceiving the people. Noticing from cloudy appearances early in the morning that it is likely to rain during the day, he will tell some one, that if tobacco or something else that he wishes is given him he will bring rain. The party so informed will tell the women, who in their joy contribute each a little and bring the fellow what he desires. The latter goes to some lonely place, draws a circle on the ground, makes a cross within it and puts tobacco, a pumpkin and some red coloring into it as well, seats himself, sings and shouts so that he may be heard, continuing if possible until it begins to rain. Even sensible Indians believe that he has brought the rain because under the circumstances it generally rains. In case the rain fails to come he makes promises for another day.

They believe God to be almighty and able to do as he pleases. Hence in times past they brought sacrifices and still do this

making their offerings not directly to the Deity but to things of his creation, as will later appear. No one has ever heard that they have sacrificed to the devil, whom together with all evil spirits they abhor, believing that all evil comes from them, even as all good comes from God.

They seem to have had no idea of the devil until in modern times preachers arose among them who proclaimed that there was such a being, having secured their knowledge from the whites. They have no very definite conception of him but consider him to be a very powerful spirit, able to work much harm and unable to do any good. Many say also that Indians would never be claimed by the devil, however wicked they might be in the world, because he existed only for the whites who wrought evil. They declare that he is not to be found among the Indians but only among the white people, for if he were among the Indians they would long since have discovered him, and their ancestors would have told them about him. They did know, however, about good and evil spirits which appears from this: when crimes had been committed, the guilty ones laid the blame on an evil spirit who had seduced them. They have also been accustomed to admonish one another in time of war not to give ear to the evil spirit but to the good spirit who counseled peace. They also knew nothing of Hell, believing only that wicked men would go to no good place after this life. They have no proper term for such a place other than *Machtandonwinek* which means, with the devil, *Machtando* meaning the Evil One. They have never had regularly appointed priests, the oldest men having usually performed the sacrifices, admonished the people to good life and conduct, warned them against immorality, murder and violence, if they would be happy, attain to great age and after death get to the good place. How much this meant among blind savages who were dead in sins and had not the ability to withstand evil and vice may be readily imagined. It is possible that the admonitions of the aged availed to the extent of restraining wickedness, so that it did not break forth as it does at the present time. It is undoubtedly true that there were formerly fewer vices than now. Of some forms of indulgence they know nothing, for example of strong drink,

through which unquestionably many evils have crept in. They lived in earlier days more simply, perhaps one ought to say more stupidly, and now that they have gained in knowledge and understanding they have become practiced in wickedness.

They consider the soul to be an invisible being and a spirit. Formerly, they used the word *Wtellenapewoagan* to describe it, meaning the "Substance of a Human Being." Savages use this word to the present day. Now they have accepted the word *Wtschitschank*, that is, "Spirit." They believe also in the immortality of the soul. Some likened themselves to corn which when thrown out and buried in the soil comes up and grows. Some believe their souls to be in the sun and only their bodies here. Others say that when they die their souls will go to God and suppose that when they have been some time with God they will be at liberty to return to the world and be born again. Hence, many believe that their souls have come from God and that they have been in the world before.

They believe also in the transmigration of the soul. Wandering spirits and ghosts, they claim, sometimes throw something into a public path and whoever goes over it is bewitched and becomes lame or ill. They even pretend to know where such a thing happened, learning it from the doctors who are thought to be able to effect a cure.

Concerning the deluge there are some fairly clear traditions among the Indians. According to these, the world was at one time entirely flooded and all men perished. The turtle, however, able to live both on land and sea, had survived and again peopled the world. Hence, the Turtle Tribe is the most important among the Indians. Another tradition is that when the earth was flooded some men and women had seated themselves on the back of a turtle of such great age that moss had already grown on its back. These people commissioned a diver that flew nearby to search for land. After searching in many regions this bird had at last returned with a bit of earth in its mouth. They, then, proceed on the back of the turtle to where this earth had been procured and found a little spot of dry land, where they settled. Gradually more land appeared, and this was, eventually, peopled by the descendants of those

who had on the back of the turtle escaped the general destruction.

Concerning their origin no trace of tradition is to be found among the Indians. From some old Mingoes I heard that they believed themselves to have come from under the earth, where they had lived before. A badger had worked his way to the surface, seen the beautiful land and returned at once to announce to them what he had seen. They had been so pleased with his account that they left their subterranean abode forthwith and settled in this beautiful land. From their habit of speaking in figure or parable, it may be concluded that by this account they mean to convey the idea that they originally came from the other side of the earth. Others say that they came from under the water, which may mean much the same thing. The tradition of the Nantikoks is that seven Indians had suddenly seen themselves seated at the sea-side. Whether they had come over the sea or been there created they did not know. Descendants of these Indians peopled the land. Others, again, claim that the first human being fell from heaven. This was a woman, cast out from the upper regions by her husband. Shortly after her fall from heaven she was delivered of twins, from whom the inhabitants of this land are descended. They believe that in the realm above them is a world of men much like this, whence the Indians originally came.

They believe in numerous spirits or subordinate deities. Almost all animals and the elements are looked upon as spirits, one exceeding the other in dignity and power. There is scarcely an Indian who does not believe that one or more of these spirits has not been particularly given him to assist him and make him prosper. This, they claim, has been made known to them in a dream, even as their religious belief and witchcraft is alleged to have been made known to them in a dream. One has, in a dream, received a serpent or a buffalo, another the sun or the moon, another an owl or some other bird, another a fish, some even ridiculously insignificant creatures such as ants. These are considered their spirits or *Manittos*. If an Indian has no *Manitto* to be his friend he considers himself forsaken, has nothing upon which he may lean, has no hope of any assistance

and is small in his own eyes. On the other hand those who have been thus favored possess a high and proud spirit.

About thirty years ago[302] preachers appeared among the Indians. They pretended to have received revelations from above, to have traveled into heaven and conversed with God. They gave different accounts of their journey, but all agreed in this: that no one could enter heaven without great danger, for the road, say they, runs close by the gates of hell. Here the devil lies in ambush and snatches at every one who is going to God. They came first to the Son of God and through him to God himself, with whom they pretend to have conversed concerning the Indians and by whom they were commanded to instruct their people. Thus the Indians were for the first time informed that there was a heaven where was the dwelling of God and a hell that of the devil. Presumably they got this knowledge from the whites. Some of the preachers confessed that they had not reached the dwelling of God but had approached near enough to hear the cocks crow and see the smoke of the chimneys in heaven. Others that they had approached the Son of God and then returned.

These teachers marked off on a piece of parchment made of deerskin two roads, both leading to heaven, one designated by God for the Indians, the other for the white people. They claim that the latter had to go a great way round about and the road for the Indians was at that time the shortest, but now, since the white people had blocked up the road for the Indians, they were obliged to make a long circuit to come to God. Further, there were paintings of heaven and hell upon the parchment as also the figure of a balance to represent the deceitful traffic carried on by the white people with the Indians. This rude parchment is, as it were, their Bible, and lies spread before them when they preach for the Indians. They then explain every mark and figure to their hearers and it is very evident that their chief aim is to influence the minds of the Indians against the white people. It is certain that their preaching has had this effect, for about this time war broke out between Indians and whites there having been no such war before.

They declared to the Indians that God had commanded their

cleansing from sin and to this end they gave them twelve different kinds of Beson to drink, supposed by causing vomiting to free them of sinful taint. Some Indians, following these injunctions, vomited so often that their lives were endangered by it.[303] They were, further, strictly ordered to fast, and to take nothing but Beson. Few persevered in this absurd practice the required length of time.

Other teachers pretended that stripes were the most effectual means to purge away sin. They advised their hearers to suffer themselves to be beaten with twelve different sticks from the soles of their feet to their necks, that their sins might pass from them through their throats. They preached a system of morals, very severe for the savages, insisting that the Indians abstain from fornication, adultery, murder, theft and practice virtuous living as the condition to their attaining after death the place of the good spirits, which they call *Tschipeghacki,* the "land of spirits," where the life is happy and deer, bear and all manner of game are abundant and the water is like crystal. There nought was to be heard save singing, dancing and merry making. Formerly the Indians only knew of a good place promised to the virtuous, but they did not know where the place was. The preachers pretend to have found the place, which lies to the south. The passage thither is the milky way which may be seen in the heavens on a clear night. They venture also to describe the appearance of the place for there are Indians who have been dead for several days and returned to life who have been there and have told of the things seen. Whoever reaches that place will find a city of beautiful houses and clean streets. Entering a house he will see no one but have good things to eat placed before him, a fire made and a bed prepared — all of which is done by spirits invisible to him. Others assert that such an one will see the women coming with baskets on their backs full of strawberries and bilberries, large as apples, and will observe that the inhabitants daily appear in fine raiment and live a life of rejoicing.

In this they all agree that the bad Indians, who have not lived as these preachers exhorted them, will not reach the place, *Tschipeghacki,* but must remain some distance away, able to see

those within dwelling happily but not able to enter. They would receive nothing but poisonous wood and poisonous roots to eat, holding them ever near the brink of a bitter death but not suffering them to die.

While these preachers admonished the Indians to lead a good and virtuous life their own walk and conduct altogether disagreed with their exhortation. They introduced polygamy, and during their sermons had several of their wives sitting 'round about them. They even pretended that it was a charitable and meritorious act in them, as men living upon terms of intimacy with God, to take these poor ignorant women and lead them in the way to God and to the enjoyment of eternal felicity.

This part of their doctrine was greatly relished by the Indians, and it is a lamentable truth that since that period adultery, fornication and other such abominations have been more frequent among the Indians. The young began to despise the counsel of the aged and endeavored to get into favor with these preachers whose followers multiplied very fast. Some of the preachers went even so far as to make themselves equal with God. They affirmed that the weal and woe of the Indians depended upon their will and pleasure. Their deluded followers, possessing the highest veneration for them, brought them many presents. Even some of the most sensible and respected Indians assented to their doctrines, punctually following their prescriptions even at the hazard of health and life. Some of the latter we now have in the congregation, who have learned that nothing avails to deliver from the servitude of sin save the blood of Jesus Christ.

One of these preachers often proclaimed openly to the Indians that he was quite at home at the side of God, went in and out of his presence where neither sin nor Satan could do him harm; he stated, however, that he had never heard of the God on the cross preached by the Moravians, and did not believe him to be the real God for his God had no wounds and gave him whenever he appeared a little piece of bread, white as snow. On another occasion, having prepared a drink of bilberries he announced that this was the blood of the Son of

God. Thus it appeared that through him Satan endeavored to rob the gospel of its power over the Indians.

As long as the preachers did not proclaim things evidently untrue they were held in great regard and had a considerable following withersoever they went, for they never remained long in one place, else their deception would have been revealed the sooner. They still preached in Gekelemukpechünk [304] when the Moravians came to the Muskingum. Soon thereafter they began to be too coarse, seeking to establish their teaching in opposition to the gospel. This brought about the end of their influence. One has since heard little of them and the most have died. For at the last they preached that whoever would believe in them and follow their direction would be happy in the chase and in all other undertakings, would be able to cross sea and land, would reap plenteous harvests even though little had been planted. The Indians who trusted in them soon saw that they had been deceived and that they had been brought to starvation by the treacherous preachers. Then the power of the latter was at an end.

Worship and sacrifices have obtained among them from the earliest times, being usages handed down from their ancestors. Though in the detail of ceremony there has been change, as the Indians are more divided now than at that time, worship and sacrifice have continued as practiced in the early days, for the Indians believe that they would draw all manner of disease and misfortune upon themselves if they omitted to observe the ancestral rites.

In the matter of sacrifice, relationship, even though distant, is of significance, legitimate or illegitimate relationship being regarded without distinction. A sacrifice is offered by a family, with its entire relationship, once in two years. Others, even the inhabitants of other towns, are invited. Such sacrifices are commonly held in autumn, rarely in winter. As their connections are large, each Indian will have opportunity to attend more than one family sacrifice a year. The head of the family knows the time and he must provide for everything. When the head of such a family is converted, he gets into difficulty because his

friends will not give him peace until he has designated some one to take his place in the arrangement for sacrificial feasts.

Preparations for such a sacrificial feast extend through several days. The requisite number of deer and bears is calculated and the young people are sent into the woods to procure them together with the leader whose care it is to see that everything needful is provided. These hunters do not return until they have secured the amount of booty counted upon. On their return they fire a volley when near the town, march in in solemn procession and deposit the flesh in the house of sacrifice. Meantime the house has been cleared and prepared. The women have prepared fire-wood and brought in long dry reed grass, which has been strewn the entire length of the house, on both sides, for the guests to sit upon. Such a feast may continue for three or four nights, the separate sessions beginning in the afternoon and lasting until the next morning. Great kettles full of meat are boiled and bread is baked. These are served to the guests by four servants especially appointed for this service. The rule is that whatever is thus brought as a sacrifice must be eaten altogether and nothing left.[305] A small quantity of melted fat only is poured into the fire. The bones are burnt, so that the dogs may not get any of them. After the meal the men and women dance, every rule of decency being observed. It is not a dance for pleasure or exercise, as is the ordinary dance engaged in by the Indians. One singer only performs during the dance, walking up and down, rattling a small tortoise shell filled with pebbles. He sings of the dreams the Indians have had, naming all the animals, elements and plants they hold to be spirits. None of the spirits of things that are useful to the Indians may be omitted. By worshipping all the spirits named they consider themselves to be worshipping God, who has revealed his will to them in dreams. When the first singer has finished he is followed by another. Between dances the guests may stop to eat again. There are four or five kinds of feasts, the ceremonies of which differ much from one another.

In another kind of feast the men dance clad only in their Breech-clout, their bodies being daubed all over with white clay.

At a third kind of feast ten or more tanned deer-skins are given to as many old men or women, who wrap themselves in them and stand before the house with their faces turned toward the east, praying God with a loud voice to reward their benefactors. They turn toward the east because they believe that God dwells beyond the rising of the sun. At the same time much wampum is given away. This is thrown on the ground and the young people scramble for it. Afterward it is ascertained who secured the most. This feast is called *'ngammuin,* the meaning of which they themselves are unable to give.

A fourth kind of feast is held in honor of a certain voracious spirit, who, according to their opinions, is never satisfied. The guests are, therefore, obliged to eat all the bear's flesh and drink the melted fat. Though indigestion and vomiting may result they must continue and not leave anything.

A fifth kind of festival is held in honor of fire which the Indians regard as being their grandfather and call *Machtuzin,* meaning "to perspire." A sweating-oven is built in the midst of the house of sacrifice, consisting of twelve poles each of a different species of wood. These twelve poles represent twelve *Manittos,* some of these being creatures, others plants. These they run into the ground, tie together at the top, bending them toward each other; these are covered entirely with blankets, joined closely together, each person being very ready to lend his blanket, so that the whole appears like a baker's oven, high enough nearly to admit a man standing upright. After the meal or sacrifice, fire is made at the entrance of the oven and twelve large stones, about the size of human heads, are heated and placed in the oven. Then twelve Indians creep into it and remain there as long as they can bear the heat. While they are inside twelve pipes full of tobacco are thrown, one after another, upon the hot stones which occasions a smoke almost powerful enough to suffocate those confined inside. Some one may also walk around the stones singing and offering tobacco, for tobacco is offered to fire. Usually, when the twelve men emerge from the oven, they fall down in a swoon. During this feast a whole buck-skin with the head and antlers is raised upon a pole, head and antlers resting on the pole, before which the

Indians sing and pray. They deny that they pay any adoration to the buck, declaring that God alone is worshipped through this medium and is so worshipped at his will.

At these feasts there are never less than four servants, to each of whom a fathom of wampum is given that they may care for all necessary things. During the three or four days they have enough to do by day and by night. They have leave, also, to secure the best of provisions, such as sugar, bilberries, molasses, eggs, butter and to sell these things at a profit to guests and spectators. Festivals are usually closed with a general drinking bout. There are always rum-sellers present on such occasions who make large profits. As a result of the drinking there are generally several fatalities, for, among the Indians that gather from various places, such as wish to work off an old score are ready to make use of the opportunity afforded by these occasions.

Besides these solemn feasts of sacrifice there are many of less importance, for individuals arrange them on their own account. They invite guests and prepare a feast of deer or bear's flesh. The guests consume the whole meal, the host and his family being mere spectators. At the great feasts all who are present partake of the food. Each individual may offer sacrifice for himself when engaged in the chase, in order that he may be successful. Having cut up a deer and divided it into many small pieces he scatters them about for the birds and crows that sit about on the trees waiting. Retiring to some distance the Indian will then amuse himself by observing in what manner they devour the prey. Another may offer to his *Manitto* for some other reason. Corn is said to be the wife of the Indian and to it they sacrifice bear's flesh. To the deer and bear they offer corn. To the fishes they bring an offering of small pieces of bread shaped in the form of fishes. If an Indian hunter hears an owl screech in the night he immediately throws some tobacco into the fire, muttering a few words at the same time. Then they promise themselves success for the next day for the owl is said to be a powerful spirit. In dreams, they claim, it has been made known to them what creatures to regard as their *manittos* and what offerings to bring to them. Such

offerings are then regarded by God as rendered to him. It is clear enough that the Indians, professing to worship God and bringing sacrifices to him, serve Satan, who influences their dreams, and keeps them in slavery in this wise, for the Indians consider dreams to be of great importance and nothing less than revelations from God. It is indeed true as the Apostle says, 1 Cor. 10:20, "the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to the devils and not to God." Those among the Indians who have been converted recognize this and henceforth hold the Indian sacrifices and offerings to be vain and do not care to say much about them.

To the spirits of the dead they offer both meat and drink-offerings. If it is to be a meat offering, which the doctors must decide in case of illness or accident, either a hog or a bear is killed for a feast and guests are invited. The latter assemble in the house where the sacrifice is to be offered. An old man gives part of the meal to the enraged spirits, speaks with them, and begs them to be pacified. All this is done in the dark; there must be neither fire nor light. After the old man has communed with the spirits he tells the guests that they have been appeased.

If it is to be a drink offering rum is required. Guests are invited also. They drink together and some one speaks with the spirits and pacifies them. The guests walk to the grave and pour some rum upon it. Such sacrifices are very common among them, and are arranged even upon very trivial occasions. In case of a tooth-ache or head-ache, they imagine that the spirits are displeased and must be pacified by an offering.

Every woman whose child dies in a foreign land travels, if possible, once a year to the place of its burial, taking another woman with her, and offers a drink-offering upon its grave.

The hare is regarded as a great God and they bring offerings to it. The name of one of the twins born to the woman that was thrown from heaven was *Tschimammus*, that is, hare. He made the land upon which the Indians dwell and was their ancestor. Now he is said to dwell in heaven, for many Indians who have been there have seen him and spoken to him and to them he has declared that he would come again.

The only idol which the Indians have, and which may properly be called an idol, is their *Wsinkhoalican,* that is image. It is an image cut in wood, representing a human head, in miniature, which they always carry about them either on a string around their neck or in a bag. They often bring offerings to it. In their houses of sacrifice they have a head of this idol as large as life put upon a pole in the middle of the room.

Their ornaments are partly round shields and half moons of silver, partly the same forms made in wampum. These are usually worn upon the breast for adornment. They also have great belts of wampum made of the violet, not the white, wampum. Men as well as women wear silver crosses upon the breast and in the ears which custom comes from the French. The *Wsinkhoalican* they like also to hang about their children to preserve them from illness and insure them success.

They are very fond of white children. Hence Indian women run after white men and, when they have white children, make much of them, although they do not like the white people. Twins are regarded as particularly fortunate, being looked upon as favored people who have a great spirit.

Their language resembles various other languages, some more, some less. When one remembers how near or how far they have lived from one another it will appear that the differences in the languages have come about through the separation of the peoples and the little contact they have had with one another.

The Unami and the Wunalachtico both lived along the sea in Pennsylvania and in Jersey, a short distance from one another. Their languages differ very little. That of the Monsys[306] who lived on the other side of the Blue Mountains in Minnissink is very different from these, so that had they not dwelt nearer together and been in constant contact in recent times they would hardly understand each other. Yet the speech of each of these peoples is but a dialect of one and the same language. The language of the Mahikanders[307] bears much resemblance to that of the Monsys, the former having lived in New York and the Woapeno not far from them in New England. The language of the Nantikoks, formerly residing on the seacoast in Maryland, very much resembles the Delaware, differing only in pronunciation

and accent. The language of the Shawanose is also related to the Monsy and Delaware but, more particularly, to the Mahikander, only the former generally place the accent upon the last syllable of a word. The reason for this is that they originally lived in Florida and whether their language changed very much since they were driven out and lived first in the Forks of the Delaware, then along the Susquehannah, then along the Ohio and finally here among the Delawares, I am not able to determine, except it be, that in Florida the language of some other nations bore a resemblance to this. The language of the Twichtwees and Wawiachtanos resembles the Shawanose and consequently, also, the Delaware. The dialects of the Kikapus, Tuckachschas, Moshkos, Kaskaski the further away they lived resembles the Delawares less and less. Yet the Delawares have much intercourse with them, for many of them live along the Wabash where the Kikapus have given them hunting grounds. Every year Delaware hunters go thither for the chase and return. The language of the Ottawas is related somewhat to that of the Shawanose, Chipuways and the Delawares. The language of the Cherokees is a mixture of other languages. It has a little of the Shawanose, the Mingoes and a great deal of the Wiondats. The speech of the last named people and that of the Six Nations are again dialects of one and the same language, differing from one another yet easily understood by either of the nations named. It appears, therefore, safe to affirm that there are two principal languages spoken by the Indians of North America, namely the Mingoes and the Delaware.[308] Concerning the nations who live along the Mississippi I have no certain knowledge. They are not usually counted among the northern nations. Their language has an agreeable sound both in common conversation and in public delivery. The Monsy is much rougher. In their public delivery they speak with a very pompous and boastful tone, in which the Iroquois excel all the other Indians. There are, indeed, no rules of oratory laid down in the Indian language, yet the speakers must be well versed in matters relating to their own nation as well as those of others, and they must know what title to apply to each of the other nations, whether brother or nephew or uncle. The same holds good of the

various branches of their own nation. The Monsys and Unamis call one another Nitgochk, "my companion [feminine] in play," for the reason that the whole nation has become the women. The several tribes, also, have special names and titles, which the speaker must know. These titles are not generally used but only in their councils when something of importance is to be communicated, which is done with great solemnity. They are able to express themselves with great clearness and precision, and so concisely that much circumlocution is required to convey the full meaning of their expressions in an European language. In spiritual things, of which they are totally ignorant, there was utter lack of expressions. But since the gospel has been preached among them, their language has gained much in this respect. If they intend to speak in an obscure manner, they can speak so cleverly and with so much circumstance that even Indians must puzzle out the true sense of their allusions. They are able to convey an account of a bad action so skillfully that it appears not to be a bad but a virtuous deed. The chiefs are not particularly well versed in this art of dissembling, and, therefore, very strict attention must be paid to every word of their discourse, especially, if an answer is required, and great caution is necessary in order that one may not be caught.

A speaker in council must be able to deliver his speech without hesitation. Often he has no time to prepare his subject, the different heads are only briefly named or left for him to collect from the conversation of the chiefs. He must, then, be able to comprise the whole in a speech, well arranged and uninterrupted, which requires a clear and open understanding, a faithful memory and experience in matters of state. Young men are being constantly trained for such duty. They are admitted as hearers to the council, to familiar intercourse with the chiefs, who instruct them faithfully, and are employed as ambassadors to give them an opportunity to exercise themselves in public speaking.

The pronunciation of their language is easy, only the Ch is a very deep gutteral. The greatest difficulty is presented by the compounding of words with verbs, substantives and adjectives, which is very difficult for a European to learn. They have few

monosyllables. In things relating to common life the language of the Indians is remarkably rich. They, in many cases, have several names for one and the same thing under different circumstances. They have ten different names for a bear, according to its age or sex. Similarly, they have a number of names for a deer. They have one word for fishing with a rod, another for fishing with a net, another for fishing with a spear or harpoon. Such words do not in the least resemble one another. The speech of the Unami has the most agreeable sound and is much easier for a European to acquire than that of the Monsys. The Monsy dialect, however, is a key to many of the expressions in the Unami. The latter have a way of dropping some syllables, so that without a knowledge of the former, it would be impossible either to spell their words or guess their meaning. The Unami have adopted many words of the Monsy dialect and the Monsys of the Unami dialect. They have no "f" nor "r" in their language, hence they pronounce foreign words containing these letters differently, for example, Pilip for Philip, Petelus for Petrus, adding a syllable, and Priscilla they pronounce Plicilla. In polysyllables the accent is generally placed on the middle syllable or on the last but one. This must be very minutely attended to because the sense of many words depends upon the accent. They can count up to thousands and hundreds of thousands, though they are unable to grasp the significance of large numbers. The women generally count upon their fingers, for this is their custom and their memory is poor.

In arithmetic they have made but little progress. They count up to ten, make a mark, proceed to the next ten and so on to the end of the account. By adding the tens they come to hundreds, and so on. In counting money the penny is the smallest coin they reckon. The Monsys call the stiver, of which they learned from the Dutch in Minissink,[309] stipel. Sixpence they call Gull, corruption of the Dutch Gulden. They usually count money according to Gulls, twenty Gulls being equal to ten shillings. If they want to calculate carefully, they take Indian corn, calling every grain a penny or a gull, adding as many as are necessary to make shillings and pounds.

Of writing they know nothing, except the painting of hieroglyphics, already referred to, which they know very well how to interpret. These drawings in red by the warriors may be legible for fifty years. After a hero has died, his deeds may, therefore, be kept in mind for many years by these markings. A letter, especially, if it is sealed, is considered a very important thing. If any treaties, contracts or deeds are required to be delivered to the Europeans, signed by their chiefs, captains or counsellors, they make their mark and get others to subscribe their names. The mark may be a hook, or the foot of a turkey or a turtle or represent something else. They are very generally ashamed of their Indian names and prefer the names given them by the whites. Some have learned to write the initial letters of their new names.

In reckoning time they do not count the days but the nights. An Indian says, "I have travelled so many nights." Only if the entire journey has been accomplished in one day, will he speak of a day's journey. Most of them determine a number of years by so many winters, springs, summers or autumns. They say, "In spring when we boil sugar," that is March, or "when we plant," that is May, so and so will be of such an age. Few know their age when they get to be over thirty. Some reckon from the time of a hard frost or a deep fall of snow in such a year, from an Indian war, or from the founding of Pittsburg or Philadelphia, when they were so or so old. They divide the year into winter, spring, summer, autumn, and these periods are divided according to the moons, though, it must be said, that their reckoning is not very accurate. They cannot agree just when to begin the new year. Most of them begin the year with the spring, that is with March, which they call Chwoame Gischuch, that is the Shad month, because at this season this fish goes up the rivers and creeks in great numbers. True, these fish are not found here, but the name was brought from the Susquehanna region. April they call Hackihewi Gischuch, that is Planting month, though they rarely begin to plant before May or the end of April. May has a name signifying the month in which the hoe is used for Indian corn, though this is usually not

done until June. The name given to June signifies the month in which the deer become red. That of July, the time of raising the earth about the corn, and of August, Winu Gischuch, the time when the corn is in the milk and ready to eat and roast. September is called the first autumn month, October the harvest month, November the hunting month, most of the Indians going out to shoot bucks. The name December shows the time when the bucks cast their antlers. January is the month in which the ground squirrels come out of their holes, and February they call Squalle Gischuch, the month of frogs, the month when the frogs begin to croak, though this again does not usually occur until later. At the present time the most of them begin the year with the Europeans, if they have come into frequent contact with them.

They are well versed in their genealogies and are able to describe every branch of the family with the greatest precision. They also add concerning the character of their forefathers, such an one was a wise and intelligent man, a great chief or captain or an Achewilens, that is a rich man and seems to signify as much as the word, gentleman, for the rich among them are highly respected. These make themselves prominent by giving the chiefs great quantities of wampum, when the chiefs are in need, and they are regarded as the main supports of the chiefs.

Concerning remoter ancestors they know nothing more than that they were great warriors and accomplished many heroic deeds, that in the war with the Six Nations, when they still lived along the sea-coast, the former were unable to do them much harm and after attacks on Delaware towns had fled in such haste that the Delawares had not been able to catch them, though they had got to the mountains as swiftly as turkeys, that, however, in spite of the ability of the Six Nations to get away the Delawares had caught and killed many of their enemies. They, also, relate concerning their ancestors that the Six Nations regarded them as mighty magicians, feared them and at last concluded a peace with them in the manner already described. Further, they relate how in times past the Delawares made attacks on towns of the Cherokees and killed many of the inhabitants; how, on occasion, they visited them at night during the dance, mingled

with the dancers, and when the amusement was at its height killed many of them with short weapons they had concealed under their blankets, escaping, after the deed was done, before their treachery had been discovered.

The land was never formally divided among the nations, whatever region was settled by a nation was recognized as property of that nation, and no one disputed its title, until, in course of war, one nation overpowered another and drove it out of its territory. In such cases, however, the conquering nation did not always settle on the conquered territory; for example, the Moshkos drove the Shawanose from their land in Florida but did not themselves settle there, still living on the west side of the Ohio in the region of the Wabash. The Delawares conquered the territory in which they live, having been driven out of the region they once inhabited by the white people. The Wiondats adjudged this region as belonging to them; and the Kikapus have given them a district along the Wabash and bordering on the country they inhabit for the chase. A part of the Delaware nation has lived in the Wabash region these many years, and of those living here many go thither every year. The boundaries of Indian countries are fixed along rivers and creeks or in a straight line from one river to another or along the mountain ranges, where there are mountains.

Of the spherical form of the earth they have no conception. Some declare that the earth floats upon the sea and that an enormous tortoise bears it on its back. The sky, they say, rests upon the water probably because it appears so to do when they look out upon the sea. Others declare that there is a place where the sky strikes the earth, rises again and continues moving up and down, smiting a rock, which causes such a report that it may be heard many days' journey. Two great captains once visited that place, and one of them risked going through the opening when the sky rose. He succeeded in getting into heaven and coming back. Yet where this place is they know as little as they do the location of Tschipey Hacki, the land of the spirits. The sun, they think, sinks into the water when it sets. Thunder is a mighty spirit dwelling in the mountains and sometimes issuing from their fastnesses suffers himself to be heard. Others imag-

ine the thunder to proceed from the crowing of a monstrous turkey-cock in the heavens. For certain stars they have names. The north star is called Lowanen, that is, north, or it is called the star that does not move. The wagon which revolves around the North Star they call the Bear, whom, they say, the Indians pursued with a little dog, that is the star Wilis; the three stars in the form of a triangle, represent the head of a bear, which they cut from the trunk and threw down. Certain stars forming an ellipse they call the beaver-hide, because they describe the form of a beaver hide stretched out. The milky way is the road to Tschipey Hacki. The seven stars[309½] they have named Anschisk-tauwewak, that is fire-brands gathered or laid together. The Monsys (Monseys) call these stars Menhangik, the travelling companions. Other nations have yet other names for them. In case of an eclipse of sun or moon, they say that these bodies have fallen into a swoon.

In time of illness, they try all manner of remedies, for they have a great fear of death. They not only consult the doctors, but take, also, the medicine that others may prescribe. The doctors must be called in, for if they were slighted, the patient might die. The doctors blow upon the patients, sprinkle a drink of roots and herbs they have taken into the mouth upon them, and murmur incantations over them. They diagnose the disease, tell whence it came and inform them whether recovery is possible or not. They give directions, also, as to what must be done and what kind of sacrifice must be brought. They prescribe some sort of Beson prepared from herbs and roots, of which they know the properties very well. It has happened that many doctors have been consulted in a single case, have perhaps given up all hope of recovery, and yet the patient became well.

For headache they lay a piece of white walnut bark on the temples, toothache is treated by placing the same kind of bark on the cheek over the tooth that gives the trouble. The bark is very heating and burns the skin in a short time, often affording relief. The same bark is applied to any of the limbs that may be afflicted, having the effect at times of driving the pain from one part of the body to another, until there is an eruption somewhere. This bark pounded fine and boiled to the con-

sistency of a strong lye stops the flow of blood when applied to a fresh wound, even though an artery may have been ruptured, prevents swelling and heals the wound rapidly. After this solution has been used for one or two days other roots must be applied, such as the great sassaparilla and others that have healing powers.

Epilepsy is not very common among the Indians. It does not often happen that an Indian becomes mad, and madness among these people is not as violent as among the whites, probably, for the reason that they are not possessed of equal power with the whites, and even their bodies are weaker because they have not the abundance and variety of nourishing food. Blood letting is supposed to help the epileptics.

Of small-pox they knew nothing until some of them caught the contagion from the Europeans. Most of them died before the small-pox properly appeared. They are much inclined to boils and sores. Upon these they lay a warm poultice made of the flour of Indian corn; when the boils are ripe they are lanced. Broken arms and legs they are able to set very well, though limbs are not broken often, dislocated joints they are also able to correct. If an Indian has dislocated his foot or knee, when hunting alone, he creeps to the next tree and tying one end of his strap to it, fastens the other to the dislocated limb and, lying on his back, continues to pull until it is reduced. For tooth-ache the Indians use roots also, placing a little piece in the hollow tooth, which sometimes affords relief though not always. Sometimes teeth are extracted if a pair of pincers can be secured. It is not for lack of skill but for lack of proper instruments that they do not treat external injuries more successfully. Such instruments as they have are not used in the most careful manner. If one who is being operated on cries out, those present laugh. Misfortunes of almost any kind trouble them little; if house and goods have been burned, the unfortunate owners may even relate the experience in a humorous manner.

Many of them suffer from diarrhoea, particularly, in the fall of the year. The evil is aggravated because they know nothing of dieting and continue to eat whatever they wish. For

this and for other troubles they have roots and herbs, which generally prove efficient remedies. Knowledge of these remedies may be confined to a very few, who demand payment for any prescription they make and keep their secrets to themselves. One common mistake made by all Indian practitioners is overdosing the patients. Fortunately, the Indians have strong constitutions, and usually do not suffer permanent injury from the unwise treatment of their doctors.

Concerning mourning for the dead it might be added that a widow is expected to observe in externals the following rules during the period of mourning which lasts a year. She must lay aside all ornaments, wash but little, for as soon as she makes pretensions at cleanliness, combs and dresses her hair, it is reported that she is anxious to marry. Men who are in mourning have no such regulations to observe.

Should a chief have lost a child or near relative, no complaint may be brought before him, nor may his advice be asked on any affairs of state. Even important embassies from other nations cannot be attended to by him until comfort has been formally offered. This is commonly done by delivering a string or fathom of wampum and addressing to him a speech, in which figuratively the remains of the deceased are buried, the grave covered with bark that neither dew of heaven nor rain may fall upon it, the tears are wiped from the chief's eyes, the sorrow of burial taken from his heart and his heart made cheerful. This done, it is possible to confer with him on the matters of state that need consideration.

When Europeans, who are in more comfortable circumstances than the Indians, wish to comfort a chief, they not only give a string of wampum but wrap the corpse of the deceased in a large piece of fine linen, laying another piece on the grave and wipe the tears from his eyes with silk handkerchiefs. Both the linen and the silks are given him as a present.

When a chief dies sympathy is expressed with the whole nation. I will give a brief description of the ceremonies observed when the Cherokees sent a formal and numerous embassy to the Delawares in Goschachgünk to renew their alliance with

them after their Chief Netawatwes had died. The ambassadors halted several miles below the town and sent word that they had arrived. The day after some Delaware Captains went down to welcome them and delivered a speech, in which they expressed joy on their arrival, extracted the thorns they had gotten on the journey from their feet, took the sand and gravel from between their toes, and anointed the wounds and bruises made by the briars and brushwod with oil, wiped the perspiration from their faces and the dust from their eyes, cleansed their ears, throats and hearts of all evil they had seen, heard or which had entered their hearts. A string of wampum was delivered in confirmation of this speech and then the Captains, accompanied by a large number of Indians, conducted the embassadors to the town. On entering the Cherokees saluted the inhabitants by firing their pieces, which was answered in the same manner by the Delawares. Next, the Captain of the Cherokees began a song, during which they proceeded to the Council-house, where everything had been prepared for the reception of the visitors. All having been seated, the Cherokee Captain comforted the grandfather, the Delaware nation, over the loss of the Chief. Continuing he wrapped the remains in a cloth, buried them, covered the grave with bark, wiped the tears from the eyes of the weeping nation, cleansed their ears and throats and took away all the sorrow from their hearts. He confirmed his speech by delivering a string of wampum. Then the peace-pipe was stuffed, lighted and in turn smoked by several Captains of the Delawares and Cherokees.

The peace-pipe is held in high regard among the Indians. It is brought out at certain solemn occasions, as when peace is concluded or renewed. The head is six or eight inches long and three inches high. It is made of stone or marble. A pipe made of red marble, as was the one used on the occasion described above, is particularly valued. The pipe-stem is made of wood and blackened, it is strong and durable and may be four feet long. It is wound around with fine ribbon and decorated with ornaments made of porcupine quills of various colors. It may be further ornamented with green, yellow and white feathers. If the pipe is made of red marble it is whitened with white clay

or chalk, for red is the color of war, even though the red marble pipe is most highly valued. For the same reason nothing red may appear on a string of wampum. A war-belt is smeared with red paint or cinnabar. If for want of a white wampum belt, one made of the violet colored shells has to be used, this is whitened with clay and then has the same signficance as a white belt. The dark wampum belts are used, whenever they wish to give some one a severe lesson or a reproof. After the ceremonies described above had been completed, and all had partaken of a feast, the exercises for that day were at an end. On the next day they approached the chief matters of interest and exchanged belts of friendship, this part of the negotiations lasting several days, as each belt was presented in connection with a formal speech.

A few words should be added concerning animals.

1) Swallows[310] are found, generally near some body of water. Snipe[311] are gray in color and have a bill almost as long as the body of the bird. The gull[312] is frequently seen near rivers and lakes. Two kinds of plover[313] may be seen in these parts, both found near water. The one variety is about the size of a blackbird,[314] which is sometimes found away from water, the other much smaller.

The whippoorwill[315] is a night bird, of gray color, somewhat smaller than a turtledove.[316] It has a thick head, a short bill and a wide mouth. It has received its name from its note, which may be heard all night long.

The Mosquito-hawk[317] gets its name from catching mosquitoes and flies while on the wing. It is about the size of turtledove, has a round white spot on each of its wings, which seem, when the animal flies, like holes in the wings. It will dart up and down very swiftly in its efforts to catch insects.

Of bees[318] nothing was known when we came here in '72, now they are to be found in large numbers in hollow trees in the woods.

Wasps[319] are found in large numbers.

2) Among the quadrupeds the flying squirrel[320] should be noted. This animal is about the size of a rat, has a thin mem-

braneous continuation of the skin of the sides and belly by which its hind and forelegs are connected. This supports the animal in leaping from one tree to another. In other respects it resembles the common squirrel.

3) There is found here a variety of rattlesnake[312] I have seen nowhere else. It is hardly a foot long and very slender, it has rattles as have the other varieties and its bite is quite as venomous. The color is, also, like that of the other rattlers, yellow with black markings.

4) Plants. Laurel,[322] also called the wild box, grows along river banks, or in the swamps in cool places or on the north side of mountains. It grows so thickly that it is impossible to get through. In swamps of laurel, bears like to make their winter quarters. The wood is fine and hard. The Indians make spoons of it. The main stem does not become thicker than a leg. The leaves are green summer and winter.

THE END.

## NOTES.

1. It is of the Iroquois and Delawares that the author is speaking. Six footers among them were the exception; Red Jacket measured five feet eight; Logan, six feet; Shenandoah, six feet three. Schoolcraft *(History . . . of the Indian Tribes,* Pt. IV, 349) states that he found about one-half of the men of the Chippewa nation in 1822, six feet high; yet the Dakotas averaged five feet nine. Keokuk was six feet two. The Ottawas were of smaller stature than the average lake tribes. Schoolcraft did not find muscular development large save among tribes located near white settlements where the means of sustenance was more constantly supplied.

2. The color of the American Indian ranged from the "brown yellow" of the mulatto to the paled faced "White Indians" of the Red River, whose seeming likeness to the Welsh has been discussed (Samuel Gardner Drake, *The Aboriginal Races of North America,* 1, 52-55). *The Blanc Barbus* of Canada and Menomonies of Wisconsin were of lighter complexion, while the darkest of aborigines were found in the Caribbean Islands, in Guinea and California. The Cherokees and Chippewas have been classed with the darker Indians of southern California, the West Indies, etc., as of possible Malay origin. By all accounts the skin of the red man is as thin and soft as that of the white man; poison ivy affected some Indians if they only came in contact with wind blowing over it upon them.

3. Peter A. Brown, Esq., in 1852, found the fibre or shaft of the average Indian's hair to be cylindrical, while in the case of the Anglo-Saxon it is oval and in the African race, elliptical; thus the first would be straight, the second curly and the third fetted or wooly.

4. The Seneca Tribe of the Six Nations were generally known west of New York by the name of Mingo, especially in the Ohio Valley. The name was also used as an equivalent for the more general term of Iroquois, but oftentimes meaning those who migrated from their New York homeland.

5. Shawanese or Shawnees of the Scioto Valley.

6. Wyandots of the region between the Sandusky Valley and the Detroit River.

7. The general impression that is current concerning the hardship of the life of Indian squaws could not have been gained from a careful reading of men who wrote of the Indians in their original environment. Writes Heckewelder: "There are many persons who believe, from the labour that they see Indian women perform, that they are in a manner treated as slaves . . . but they have no more than their fair share . . . of the hardships attendant on savage life. The

work of the women is not hard or difficult. They are both able and willing to do it, and always perform it with cheerfulness. I have never known an Indian woman to complain of the hardship of carrying this burden (a pack on making a journey) which serves for their own comfort and support as well as their husbands . . . , the fatigue of the women is by no means to be compared to that of the men. Their hard and difficult employments are periodical and of short duration, while their husbands' labours are constant in the extreme. Were a man to take upon himself a part of his wife's duty, in addition to his own, he must necessarily sink under the load, and of course his family must suffer with him"—*An account of the History, Manners and Customs of the Indian nations* (1817) 146-7. As to the universal cheerfulness of Indian women Zeisberger is at variance with his compatriot. "The Indian women," writes Loskiel, "are more given to stealing, lying, quarreling, backbiting and slandering than the men"—*History of the Mission of the United Brethren,* (1794), 16. In our numerous references to the above mentioned writers, in footnotes, we shall use the following terminology, Heckewelder's *History,* Heckewelder's *Narrative,* and Loskiel's *History.*

8. Zeisberger, it must always be remembered, is writing in Ohio; his references to the country to the northward are the result of his acquaintance with the Six Nations in New York State.

9. The Onondaga tribe of Six Nations, located near Syracuse, New York.

9½. Zeisberger seems here to imply that the country of the Shawanese was Kentucky; elsewhere he clearly speaks of the Scioto Valley as but one hundred miles distant.

10. Contrary to the taste of other Indians, as the Dakotas, Schoolcraft, *History,* Pt. IV, 67.

11. Breech cloth.

12. Singularly enough, everything in an Indian's cabin had its specific owner. "Every individual knows what belongs to him, from the horse or cow down to the dog, cat, kitten and little chicken. For a litter of kittens or brood of chickens there are often as many different owners as there are individual animals. Thus while the principle of community of goods prevails in the State, the rights of property are acknowledged among the members of a family"—Heckewelder, *History,* 147-8.

13. Indian Hemp; *Apocynum cannabium.* L.

14. Monsey, one of the Three Tribes of the Delawares living chiefly on the Beaver River.

15. Bunks made of boards.

16. The expression here is singular and shows that the western, migratory Iroquois were clearly distinguished from those who remained in the "Long House" in New York State.

17. The Rev. David McClure states that such was the desire for dancing among the Delaware Indians that "they are building a dancing house in this small village, [the capital of the Delawares near the present site of Newcomerstown, O.] which will cost them more labour than one-half of the houses in it" — *Diary,* 77. This is one of the most valuable volumes of early travel (1770-1790) in the Middle West and will often be quoted.

18. It is interesting to compare the accounts of Zeisberger and Heckewelder, the former a jotter down of facts, the latter a formal historian. "The Indians are proud but not vain," write Heckewelder; "They consider vanity as degrading and unworthy the character of a man. This passion of the Indians which I have called *pride,* but which might perhaps, be better denominated *highmindedness,* is generally combined with a great sense of honour, and not seldom produces actions of the most heroic kind" — *History,* 159, 161. The plain, unpretentious words of Zeisberger, often derogatory of the Indians, have a ring of accuracy that is found in almost no other record.

19. The length of space to which a man can extend his arms.

20. "Courage, art and circumspection, are the essential and indispensable qualifications of an Indian warrior" — Heckewelder, *History,* 166. According to Zeisberger's notion, how appropriate the first lines of the Delaware's chant on going to war: "O poor me!" *Id.* 204.

21. Pontiac's Rebellion.

22. Ottawas.

23. Revolutionary war.

24. Heckewelder's descriptions of Indian abhorrence of marital infidelity are not borne out by Zeisberger or Loskiel. David McClure, writing at Coshocton, in 1772, records: "Several of the aged Councillors had lived with one wife from their youth; but a great part of husbands and wives at Kekalemahpehoong [Delaware capital], had separated and taken others. I was astonished at the profligate description which young Killbuck (whose father had directed him to lodge in my house, and to wait on me), gave me of himself. He slept in a loft, which was ascended by a ladder at the farther end of the house. He conducted a squaw up the ladder every night. I asked him one day, if it was his wife? He said no. I admonished him for his conduct. He said he was nineteen years old, and had had several wives, and that he wanted one more, and he should be happy. It is natural to expect that but few children can be the fruit of such unbounded licentiousness. On an average there are about two or three to a family" — *Diary,* 91.

24½. The distinction here between "Indians" and "savages" implies that the former are Christian and the latter non-christian.

25. Goschgoschünk, in Venango County, Pennsylvania, a Delaware (Monsey) town on the Allegheny River — Edmund De Schweinitz, *Life and Times of David Zeisberger,* 324. *seq.* Few volumes relating to the

Middle West of pre-Revolutionary and Revolutionary days are written with the care and scholarly accuracy of this *Life of Zeisberger,* as we shall call it in our numerous references. It is a book of very great merit.

26. Canoes were often buried in the sand to preserve them through the winter.

27. Heckewelder records that he has seen boys of ten and twelve whose limbs were so contracted by colds or "fits of sickness" that they were useless. *History,* 217. By all accounts pneumonia and consumption were exceedingly common among the Indians; cf. McClure, *Diary,* 67.

28. Heckewelder calls these bands *Happis;* by them, he asserts, Indians will carry a load "which many a white man would not have strength enough to raise from the ground"—*History,* 214.

29. Probably boils; possibly syphilitic sores.

30. It is of passing interest to note some of the remedies used by the Indians as given by the late Dr. Zina Pitcher, U. S. A., in Schoolcraft *History,* Pt. IV, pp. 502, *seq.*:

| Disease. | Herb. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|
| Fever | Eupatorium, cambium of horse chestnut, butternut, etc. | Carthartics. |
| Pleurisy | *Asclepias decumbens, Anthemis cotula and Polygonum presecoris.* | |
| Consumption | Poltices of mucillage of the *Ulmus americanus, etc.* | Consumption was treated as an ulcer and little understood. |
| Asthma | Saururus, benzoin, sassafaras and *Istodes foetida.* | Palliative remedies. |
| Dyspepsia | Cambium of the *Desculus glabra, inglans,* etc. | Little known save among tribes somewhat civilized. |
| Liver complaint and gravel | Arbutus-uva-ursi, spice-wood, gooseberry root, etc. | |
| Dysentery and Diarrhea | Blackberry, *Geranium maculatum, Spirea tomentosa, Quercus alba.* etc. | |
| Dropsy | Prickly ash (*Zanthoxylum americanum*) wild gooseberry (*Ribes trifolium*). | |
| Amenorrhoea | Sassafaras, spice-wood, worm-wood. | |

| Disease. | Herb. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|
| Hemorrhage | Powder of puff-ball (*Lycoperdon bovista*) pulverized charcoal. | |
| Wounds | Washed with decoction of lichen, bass-wood or slippery elm. | Great care was given to keeping up the suppurating process and keeping wounds open. |
| Ulcers | *Acorus calamus* and cautery. | |
| Salt Rheum | *Rumex crispus* or yellow dock. | |
| Phlegmon | Onion poltices. | |
| Gonorrhoea | Various species of genus Pinus. | The balsaam used in modern remedies. |
| Syphilis | Local applications as for ulcers. | |
| Paralysis | None. | |
| Obstetrics: | *Sanguinaria canadensis* (blood-root) used to facilitate parturition. | |

31. Stings of poisonous reptiles were treated variously by the different tribes. The Senecas used a plant called *Polygala senega;* others used *Liatris spicata, Asclepias tuberosa, Prenanthus alba, Fraximus juglandifolia,* and many applied locally *Alisma plantago.* Scientists are today studying, for perhaps the first time, the action of various forms of venom and the appropriate remedies for each. The poison of the rattler destroys the tissues and blood-cells; that of the cobra paralyzes the nervous system. See Dr. J. T. Case, *Good Health,* June, 1909.

32. Heckewelder distinguishes between "good" and "bad" medicine-men, terming the former "physicians and surgeons" and the latter "doctors or jugglers," but states of these latter, "I am sorry that truth obliges me to confess, that in their profession they rank above the honest practitioners." One whimsical conceit of the Indian doctor which well illustrates their superstition and "science" was that the water used to concoct an emetic must be dipped from a stream *against* the current, while for a cathartic it must be dipped *with* the current. Heckewelder, suffering from a painful felon, was put at ease within half an hour by an Indian woman who applied a poultice made from the root of the common blue violet. Heckewelder, *History,* 217-225.

33. It would seem here that male practitioners were called to attend labor cases. Dr. Pitcher has asserted that, to his knowledge, only

women officiated under such circumstances, Schoolcraft *History,* Pt. IV, 515. Loskiel refers to the efficiency of female doctors in child-birth. *History,* 110.

34. These primitive Turkish baths were, unquestionably, a great means of health to this race which suffered so largely from colds. Dr. McClure, who gives an interesting description of a sweating oven on the Muskingum, asserts, however, that to pulmonary disorders and small pox, the treatment was quite fatal. *Diary,* 67.

35. The Unamis, the chief tribe of the Delawares, lived on the Tuscarawas River.

36. The Unalochtgos, the tribe of second importance, lived beside the Tuscarawas.

37. The Monseys lived mostly on the Big Beaver River.

38. Orange Co., N. Y.

39. It is refreshing, in the face of so many idealistic accounts of primitive Indian life to read these blunt, plain statements of facts from Zeisberger's pen. We probably know more accurately concerning the Six Nations than of any other Indians. One of the earliest reports claims that De Nonville's soldiers in 1687 destroyed a million and a quarter bushels of corn in four Seneca villages. And yet we know that the eating of children in time of utter famine was known among the Senecas — Cadwallader Colden, *History of the Five Indian Nations* (1755) II, 8. If such destitution could exist in a region exceedingly well watered and fertile, what of Indians not so fortunately placed?

40. Bracket fungus.

41. Remains of the Mound-building Indians. These were found on the site of at least one of the Moravian Mission towns, Lichtenau. De Schweinitz, *Life of Zeisberger,* 433, 436 *Note.*

42. Unquestionably a European idea; no mounds in the Middle West were high enough to serve the purpose of rolling blocks or stones. The greater part of the mounds so far opened prove to have been raised over charnel houses after the latter had been filled with bodies.

43. These facts concerning the wooden wampum and the substitute for wampum are of utmost interest.

44. Allegheny River.

45. Neville's Island? This is clearly, the Delaware tradition.

46. Tennessee River, commonly known in early days as the Cherokee River. See A. B. Hulbert's, "Washington's Tour to the Ohio," *Ohio State Arch. and Hist. Quart.* XVII, (Oct. 1908), 484.

46½. At the Treaty of Fort Stanwix?

47. Here begins Zeisberger's version of the legend of the conquest of the Iroquois over the Delawares, one of the famous Indian legends. It is possible that this Zeisberger account is the original English (German) version upon which so many versions have been based. Heckewelder (*History* 11) referring to the source of his information.

cites Loskiel, who had only Zeisberger's manuscript to follow. It is peculiar that Heckewelder should refer his readers to an authority who had no first-hand knowledge. Turning to Loskiel's version of the events which led up to the Delawares being made "women" we find (*History,* 124, *seq.*) that Zeisberger's plain account has been improved upon by being fashioned into formal speeches. These begin as follows:

"It is not profitable, that all the nations should be at war with each other, for this will at length be the ruin of the whole Indian race. We have therefore considered of a remedy, by which this evil may be prevented. One nation shall be the woman. We will place her in the midst, and the other nations who make war shall be the man, and live around the woman. No one shall touch or hurt the woman, and if anyone does it, we will immediately say to him, 'Why do you beat the woman?'"

By comparison it will be seen that Loskiel has put Zeisberger's words into the mouth of speakers, whereas Zeisberger did not include his account in quotation-marks, giving merely the story as it was told to him. Loskiel, by putting the same words into the mouths of the speakers and phrasing it all in the first instead of the third person, as Zeisberger wrote it, turned a legend into a seemingly accurate historical document. Parkman takes both Loskiel and Heckewelder to task for taking the story in "good faith," (*Conspiracy of Pontiac,* I, 31) but Loskiel had no reason to take Zeisberger's account as actual history; and De Schweinitz (*Life of Zeisberger,* 47) states that neither Zeisberger or Loskiel argue in favor of the story, while Heckewelder does. This forms an interesting example of the evolution of a legend into history: Zeisberger tells the Delaware legend, plainly and simply, in the third person; Loskiel forms it into speeches in the first person; Heckewelder takes these formal speeches and argues in their favor as true history.

48. Gourd or pumpkin.

48½. See William L. Stone, *The Life and Times of Sir William Johnson,* 214-215.

49. Woapanochky, "a people living toward the rising of the sun," was another name of the Delawares. Loskiel, *History* I, 2.

50. Albany, N. Y.

51. Bethlehem, Pa.

52. *Roccus lineatus* (Bloch) an important source of food to the early Virginians as attested by Captain John Smith and others.

53. *Alosa sapidissima* (Wilson).

54. Vernacular names of fishes are so numerous and so variable, the same common name being applied to very different fishes in different localities, that it is hard to identify some of these references with certainty. This however refers to *Perca flavescens* (Mitchill), commonly known as the yellow perch.

55. *Stizostedion vitreum* (Mitchill) the pike or sauger.

56. *Lepisosteus osseus* (L.)

57. *Salvelinus fontinalis* (Mitchill), the speckled or brook trout.

58. *Anguilla chrysypa* Rafinesque.

59. *Phoca vitulina* L., the harbour seal, common farther north, though rare in this latitude even in salt water. Their occurrence at Wyoming nearly 200 miles up the Susquehanna River is quite remarkable, though other similar occurrences have been recorded.

60. *Chamaecyparis thyoides* (L.), the white cedar.

61. *Alces americanus* (Clinton). The animals migrated south in the winter crossing the Niagara, or the Lakes on the ice.

62. *Salmo salar* Linnaeus, the Atlantic salmon, formerly very abundant in the Hudson River though now nearly or quite exterminated there.

63. *Anguilla chrysypa* Rafinesque. Possibly the author was more familiar with the lamprey eel, *Ichthyomyzon concolor* (Kirtland) in the Muskingum region, hence his reference to the more slender head of *Anguilla chrysypa.* However, inasmuch as there is but the one true eel in our fresh waters and the lamprey is small and seldom seen, it seems probable that the eels which the author knew in New York and along the Muskingum were of the same sort. In autumn there is a universal migration of the adult eels to the sea to spawn. The Indians, true to their insight into nature, made the best of this opportunity for securing them in great quantities.

64. Niagara Falls.

65. Probably one of the Three Sister Islands.

66. Oneida Lake.

67. Cayuga Lake.

68. Seneca and Ithaca Lakes.

69. *Pyrus coronaria* L., the American crab apple or wild apple.

70. Mohawks.

71. Reference here is to Sullivan's expedition of 1779. The date of the writing of this history is here shown to be 1780.

72. Indicating that even with the unskilled cultivation of the Indians, the corn in different regions developed varieties each suited to its particular locality.

73. North Carolina.

74. Fort Frontenac, now Kingston, Canada.

75. One of the most elaborate descriptions of this route through Central Pennsylvania is given in Francis Baily's *Journal* of a *Tour in Unsettled parts of North America.* Sideling Hill is near the Juniata; Laurel Hill is a continuance of Chestnut Ridge, the latter being the local name of the range in Pennsylvania. Zeisberger's mention of it as the important western route at this period (pointing, as it does well back in the eighteenth century) is significant.

76. The parallel chains of the Blue Ridge now known as Second and Third and Peters Mountains, being at that time without a name, Conrad Weiser called them, on the occasion of Zinzendorf's second journey into the Indian country, "The Thurnstein" in honor of this distinguished personage, one of whose titles was Lord of Thurnstein.

77. Jack's Mountain.

78. The present Erie, Pa.

79. By way of French Creek. Perhaps no other authority gives the name of Venango or *Onenge* as the name of this stream.

80. Turtle Creek.

81. Ligonier, Pa.

82. Kentucky River.

83. Cuyahoga River.

84. Scioto River.

85. *Fragaria virginiana* Duchesne.

86. *Rubus nigrobaccus* Bail, the common blackberry and *Rubus villosus* L., the dewberry.

87. *Rubus occidentalis* L.

88. *Vaccinium pennsylvanicum* Lam., the dwarf blueberry.

89. *Ribes cynosbati* L., the prickly gooseberry.

90. *Ribes floridum* L'Her., the wild black current.

91. *Vaccinium macrocarpon* Ait, the common cranberry and *Viburnum opulus* L., the tree cranberry.

92. *Prunus serotina* Ehrh., the common wild cherry.

93. *Prunus pennsylvanica* L., and probably *Prunus cuneata* Raf.

94. *Prunus pumila* L., the sand cherry.

95. *Morus rubra* L., the common red mulberry.

96. *Prunus americana* Marsh.

97. *Vitis aestivalis* Michx.

98. *Vitis cordifolia* Michx. and *Vitis vulpina* L.

99. *Pyrus coronaria* L. and *Pyrus angustifolia* Ait., both occur along the Muskingum and probably both were used by the Indians.

100. *Corylus americana* Walt.

101. *Carya* species (?) Doubtless the Indians made use of most of the half dozen edible species of the region.

102. *Juglans cinerea* L.

103. *Juglans nigra* L.

104. *Assimina triloba* Dunal.

105. *Benzoin aestivale* (L.) the common spice-bush, apparently.

106. Spicebush.

107. *Castanea dentata* (Marsh).

108. An interesting reference to the Ohio Buckeye, *Aesculus glabra* Willd.

109. *Ipomoea pandurata* (L.) a relative of the morning glory with tuberous roots.

110. *Podophyllum peltatum* L., the root of which is still a staple medicinal herb.

110a. *Quercus alba* L., the white oak.

110b. *Quercus velutina* Lam., the black or quercitron oak.

110c. *Quercus rubra* L., red oak.

110d. *Quercus falcata* Michx., Spanish oak.

110e. *Quercus palustris* Muench., the swamp Spanish or pinoak.

111. Doubtless more than three!

112. *Fraxinus americana* L., is the most common one, though other species occur in the region.

113. *Fagus grandifolia* Ehrh. There is but one beech though the wood in some is quite different in color from that of others.

114. *Sassafras variifolium* (Salisb.)

115. *Liriodendron tulipifera* L., the tulip tree, commonly called poplar.

116. *Castanea dentata* (Marsh).

117. *Tilia americana* L., basswood or linden.

118. *Acer saccharinum* L., the silver maple is most abundant near the water, though *Acer saccharum* Marsh, the sugar maple, and var. *nigrum* (Mx) also occur in the bottom lands.

119. *Carpinus caroliniana* Walt., the American hornbeam, is usually known as water beech but this description evidently refers to the sycamore, *Platanus occidentalis* L., sometimes called water beech. There is no other reference which could apply to the sycamore and it was then as now, a conspicuous tree of the river banks.

120. *Crataegus* species (?) Several of the 65(!) species accepted by the seventh edition of Gray's *Manual* occur here.

121. *Pyrus coronaria* L., and *Pyrus angustifolia* Ait.

122. *Fraxinus nigra* Marsh., the black ash.

123. *Gleditsia triacanthos* L.

124. *Cornus florida* L.

125. The bark of *Cinchona succirubra* and other species of *Cinchona* from which quinine is prepared. The Cinchonas grow wild in the Andes Mountains.

126. *Juniperus virginiana* L.

127. *Picea mariana* (Mill.) Black or log spruce.

128. *Pinus rigida* Mill. Pitch pine.

129. *Pinus strobus* L. White pine.

130. *Abies balsamea* (L.)

131. *Pinus pungens* Lamb, the table mountain pine, presumably.

132. *Ulmus americana* L., and V. *racemosa* Thomas.

133. *Betula nigra* L., the river birch.

134. *Populus tremuloides* Michx., the American aspen.

135. *Cladrastis lutea* (Michx.).

136. Loskiel records that Indians sold oil to the whites "at four guineas a quart." *History*, 118.

137. A very questionable statement.

138. It is doubtful what Zeisberger means here by "marble;" possible it was gritty sandstone.

139. Iron Pyrites or "Fool's Gold."

140. Kaolin or China clay; colors in clays are due to impurities. The black clay which burns white evidently contained carbonaceous matter.

141. Yellow ochre.

142. Possibly a decoction made from polk-berries which would stimulate the secretion of the glands of the breasts, etc.

143. *Rhus toxicodendron* L., the poison vine or poison ivy.

144. *Rhus vernix* L., the poison sumac, our most poisonous plant.

145. Not used by the medical profession today.

146. *Odocoileus virginianus* (Boddaert).

147. The introduction of the rifle was the first step in destroying Nature's balance as applied to man and the native wild animals. Doubtless the deer and buffalo easily held their own in spite of the onslaughts of the Indians until the rifle gave the Indians a tremendous advantage as compared with their former weapons.

148. *Ursus americanus* Pallas.

149. In many cases the Indians multiplied the species of our larger mammals, basing their ideas on one or two unusually large individuals they happened to meet, or on some peculiar condition of the pelage. There is only one species of bear known from eastern United States.

150. *Cervus canadensis* (Erxleben) the wapiti, or "American Elk." The author is correct. The wapiti is nearly related to the stag, *Cervus elaphus* L., of Europe and is not an elk at all.

151. *Bison bison* (L.)

152. *Felis couguar* Kerr.

153. *Lynx ruffus* (Guldenstaedt).

154. *Vulpes fulvus* (Dasmarest).

155. *Urocyon cinereoargenteus* (Schreber).

156. A black phase of the red fox *Vulpes fulvus.*

157. *Procyon lotor* (L.)

158. *Lutra canadensis* (Schreber).

159. *Castor canadensis* Kuhl.

160. The steel trap was another white man's invention which, placed in the hands of the Indians, proved most destructive to some of the animals which formerly held their own against the less effective methods of the Indians. The price paid for the pelts by the whites, was of course an additional factor in the destruction of many of the native animals.

161. *Didelphis virginiana* Kerr.

162. Certainly open to question and probably merely an Indian belief.

163. *Mephitis mephitis* Schreber.

164. *Erethizon dorsatum* (L.)

165. *Mustela americana* Turton, the pine marten or American sable, and the larger *Mustela pennautii* Exleben, the fisher, or fisher marten, both range into New York.

166. *Alces americanus* Clinton.

167. *Fiber zibethicus* (L).

168. A melanistic form of the next. At times in some localities it is very abundant.

169. *Sciurus carolinensis* Gmelin, the common grey squirrel.

170. *Sciurus hudsonicus loquax* Bangs.

171. *Tamias striatus lysteri* (Rich.)

172. *Marmota monax* (L.)

173. *Lynx canadensis* Kerr, the Canada lynx.

174. *Lepus floridanus mearnsi* Allen.

175. *Lepus americanus virginianus* Harlan, the varying hare.

176. Doubtless partial albinos of the common deer, *Odocoileus virginianus.*

177. An instance of the erroneous belief tnat an animal in any way conspicuously different from its fellows becomes a leader. On the contrary, the unfortunate variant is often mistreated by his fellows and sometimes even ostracised. "Sentiment" plays no part in the selection of leaders. It is simply a question of superior strength and endurance.

178. *Branta canadensis* (L.), the common wild goose, or Canada goose. Other species occur but are rare and probably never reared their young hereabouts.

179. *Aix sponsa* (L.) the beautiful wood duck. The young are said to be carried to the water in the bill of the parent.

180. Both *Mergus americanus* Cassin the American merganser or sheldrake, and *Lophodytes cucullatus* (L.,) the hooded merganser were formerly abundant in this region.

181. Probably the hooded merganser, which is said to be quite palatable, the flesh of the other mergansers being rank and fishy.

182. This is evidently *Grus mexicana* (Müll), the sandbill crane, a bird now very rare in Ohio.

183. *Olor columbianus* (Ord.), the whistling swan, and *Olor buccinator* (Rich.), the trumpeter swan, have been uncommon birds in this locality, the latter formerly breeding here. Both fit the description given. The former is now much less rare than the other.

184. *Meleagris galopavo silvestris* Vieill.

185. *Bonasa umbellus* (L.), the ruffed grouse or pheasant, a beautiful, harmless and valuable bird now in danger of extermination if not rigidly protected.

186. This apparently refers to *Tympanuchus americanus* (Reich.), the prairie hen, now exterminated in Ohio and not generally supposed

to have lived as far southeast as the Muskingum region, though it may possibly refer to the heath hen, *Tympanuchus cupido* (L.), once distributed from Massachusetts to Virginia, though doubtfully along the Muskingum, now extinct except on Martha's Vineyard Island, Mass. The heath hen is smaller than the ruffed grouse however.

187. *Ectopistes migratonus* (L.), the passenger pigeon, perhaps extinct, or if not already, it is most certain to become so.

188. *Zenaidura macroura carolinensis* (L.)

189. *Colinus virginianus* (L.), the bobwhite. The quail was formerly, while the dense forests were still undisturbed, much less abundant and generally distributed than in more recent years. One Ohio ornithologist, J. M. Wheaton, goes so far as to say that "—it was probably absent or at least confined to but few localities in the State at the time of its first settlement and has steadily increased in numbers as the forest has been cleared away." Report on the birds of Ohio, *Rep. Geol. Surv. Ohio,* (1882) IV, Pt. I, 449.

190. *Haliaetus leucocephalus* (L.), the bald eagle.

191. Probably a young bald eagle. The young are three years in attaining the adult plumage, and often contend viciously with the parents for the possession of the nest to which the parents return year after year. Possibly this may have been a golden eagle, *Aquila chrysaetos* (L.), though it has apparently always been rare in the region and is not very pugnacious.

192. *Elanoides forficatus* (L.), the swallow-tailed kite, another beautiful, beneficial and entirely harmless great bird which is almost extinct and will probably never be seen in Ohio again, thanks to the skill of the brainless hunter!

193. The author did not distinguish between the red-tailed hawk, *Buteo borealis* (Gmel.) and the red-shouldered hawk *Buteo lineatus* (Gmel.), the two commoner species of large hawk.

194. Meaning probably *Falco peregrinus anatum* (Bonap.) the peregrine falcon or duck hawk, a near relative of the European "falcon gentil of song and story."

195. *Falco columbarius* L.

196. *Melanerpes erythrocephalus* (L.)

197. *Dryobates pubescens medianus* (Swains.), the downy woodpecker, and *Dryobates villosus* (L.), the hairy woodpecker, are almost alike except in size. Doubtless they were not distinguished. The former, the smaller one, is much the more abundant.

198. *Colaptes auratus luteus* Bangs, the flicker or yellow hammer.

199. *Conurus carolinensis* (L.), the Carolina paroquet, now almost extinct and long since disappeared from Ohio, another victim of the sportsman's gun and the milliner's art.

200. *Gavia immer* (Brünn.)

201. It seems hard to determine what this refers to but it is most likely the second year bald eagle. The young requires three years to acquire the adult plumage.

202. *Ceryle alcyon* (L.), the kingfisher, which nests in a hole in the bank.

203. *Ardea herodias* L., the great blue heron.

204. *Strix varia* (Barton), the barred owl and *Bubo virginianus* (Gmel.), the great horned owl, were both abundant in early days. The small owl referred to is doubtless the ubiquitous screech owl, *Otus asio* (L.) though several other owls occur in the region.

205. *Corvus brachyrhynchos* Brehm.

206. *Cathartes aura septentrionalis* Wied.

207. *Corvus corax principalis* Ridgw. Ornithologists have believed that in Ohio the raven occurred only in the northern part. This record for southern Ohio is as interesting as authentic.

208. *Butorides virescens* (L.), the green heron or fly-up-the-creek, is meant.

209. The author, without doubt here refers to *Planesticus migratorius* L., the common American robin. A European bird, *Merula merula,* a near relative of our robin, is black, has habits like our robin, and is commonly known as the blackbird. Before the white settlers came the robin doubtless lived in open places in the forest, so that in the author's experience it was met with only in breaks in the forest, usually remote from the Indian villages. With the opening up of clearings the robin made acquaintance with the white man and came to live in open groves and orchards. This the robin did in common with many of our other native birds which formerly lived only in the open places in the forest. With the coming of the white settlers these birds found congenial homes in the clearings and orchards where they were also less subject to the attacks of predaceous birds and mammals.

210. *Sialia sialis* (L.)

211. *Mimus polyglottos* (L.) Very rare in the locality now.

212. *Astragulinus tristis* (L.), the American goldfinch or yellow bird.

213. *Icterus galbula* (L.), the Baltimore oriole.

214. *Piranga rubra* (L.), the summer tanager or summer red-bird.

215. *Piranga erythromelas* Vieill., the scarlet tanager.

216. The European starling is a member of the black-bird family (Icteridae) hence this reference is to our black-birds, of which the common species are *Quiscalus quiscula aeneus* (Ridgw.) the bronzed grackle or crow black-bird, *Molothrus ater* (Bodd.), the cow-bird, and *Agelaius phoeniceus* (L.), the red-winged black-bird.

217. *Dumetella carolinensis* (L.)

218. The many dull-colored sparrows (Fringillidae), most of the thrushes (Turdidae), probably some of the warblers, (Mniotiltidae),

and doubtless other of the smaller birds are all here referred to as finches.

219. *Baeolophus bicolor* (L.), the tufted titmouse, and probably also *Parus atricapillus* (L.), the chickadee.

220. Though other species occur, *Thryothorus ludovicianus* (Lath.). the Carolina wren is the most abundant and most conspicuous species in this region.

221. *Archilochus colubris* (L.), the ruby-throated humming-bird.

222. *Crotalus horridus*. L.

223. *Ancistrodon contortrix* (L.)

224. *Heterodon platyrhinus* Latr. (probably var. *niger*) the spreading viper or hissing adder, an entirely harmless snake generally thought poisonous.

225. Apparently refers to *Natrix fasciata erythrogaster* Shaw, the red-bellied water-snake. The aquatic habits would seem to indicate this species. It is a harmless snake though generally thought poisonous.

226. Copperheads, *Ancistrodon contortrix* (L.), with the tail, as described, somewhat horny in appearance.

227. *Zamenis constrictor* (L.,) black snake or blue racer.

228. *Natrix fasciata sipedon* (L.)

229. *Eutaenia sirtalis* (L.), the garter snake.

230. *Liopeltis vernalis* (Dekay), the green or grass snake.

231. *Stizostedion vitreum* (Mitchill), the pike perch or jack salmon. The former large size of this fish is attested by the following: "The pike is the king of fish in the western rivers. Judge Gilbert Devoll took a pike in the Muskingum which weighed nearly one hundred pounds, on the 2nd day of July, 1788. He was a tall man but when the fish was suspended on the pole of the spear from his shoulder, its tail dragged on the ground, so that is was about six feet in length. This enormous fish was served up on the 4th of July at a public dinner." S. P. Hildreth, *Pioneer History,* 498.

232. Refers to one or more than one species of sucker. Probably *Moxostoma aureolum* (Le Seur), the common red-horse, was most taken, though *Catostomus commersonii* (Lacepede), the white sucker, *Cycleptus elongatus* (Le Seur), the black-horse, and other species are not uncommon.

233. *Ictiobus cyprinella* (Cuvier & Valenciennes), the large mouthed buffalo, *Ictiobus bubalus* (Rafinesque), the small-mouthed buffalo, and *Ictiobus urus* (Agassiz), the black buffalo, are species resembling each other closely. All occur in the region.

234. The calcareous earstones or otoliths.

235. Several species of catfish occur in the Muskingum. Among the valuable food species are *Ictalurus punctatus* (Rafinesque), the blue cat, *Ameiurus lacustris* (Walbaum), the Mississippi cat, *Ameiurus nebulosus* (Le Sueur), the bull head, and *Leptops olivaris* (Rafinesque), the mud cat. The Ohio catfish sometimes weigh sixty or seventy pounds.

236. *Acipenser rubicundus* Le Sueur.

237. *Lepisosteus osseus* (L.), the gar pike.

238. *Polydon spathula* (Walbaum), the spoon-bill cat.

239. *Aplodinotus grunniens* Refinesque, the white perch, called also fresh water drum in allusion to its producing a grunting or drumming noise.

240. *Perca flavescens* (Mitchill).

241. *Anguilla chrysypa* Rafinesque. Possibly the author was more familiar with the so-called lamprey eel, *Ichthyomyzon concolor* (Kirtland) (cf. note 63), in the region of the Muskingum.

242. This is a very peculiar reference to the water dogs, *Necturus maculatus* Rafinesque, the water dog with external gills, and *Cryptobranchus alleganiensis* (Daudin), the hell-bender or water dog without external gills.

243. *Trionyx spinifer* (Le Sueur), the common soft shelled turtle.

244. *Cistudo carolina* (L.), the common box or wood tortoise.

245. There are many species of mussels belonging to the genera, *Unio, Anodonta, Lampsilis,* etc., occurring in the region and the shells of several of these have a colored nacrous layer.

246. Other *Unio* species (?).

247. The snails, most likely referring to the larger species of *Helix* and related forms, were innocent of any connection with the gad flies.

248. In places where cattle destroy the weeds and other dense vegetation, conditions are not agreeable either to the snails or the gad flies, hence both are less abundant. These gad flies (family Tabanidae), *Tabanus, Chrysops,* etc., more commonly known as the horse fly, deposit their eggs on aquatic plants near the surface of the water and the larvae live in the mud and water feeding upon various soft bodied aquatic animals, snails among the rest, but of course not upon the land snails which the author apparently had in mind.

249. The frog with the call described is one of the tree frogs, *Hyla pickeringii* Storer, which lives near the water in spring and early summer. The Hylas go to the water very early in spring to deposit their eggs. The most common Hyla is *Hyla versicolor* Le Conte. The frogs the Mingoes caught were doubtless not the little hylas but more likely the leopard frog, *Rana virescens* Kalm, and the green frog, *Rana clamata* Daudin.

250. *Rana clamata* Daudin.

251. *Rana catesbiana* Shaw.

252. It would be interesting to know if the pestiferous house mouse, *Mus musculus* L., had even then reached this locality. The reference is most likely to the white footed mouse, *Peromyscus leucopus* (Rafinesque.)

253. The reader will not fail to note that Zeisberger, writing at the beginning of the last quarter of the eighteenth century continually pictures the Indian as he once was; his tenses are largely past tenses and he shows the contemporary Indian as a degenerate. It will be remembered that Pontiac's appeal to the red race in 1763 was for regeneration, for the abandonment of the practices learned of the white man and readoption of the lost arts of forest life which were rapidly being forgotten. Lack of respect for old age was one of the important signs of racial degeneration. Does this apply to the red race only? Heckewelder's chapter on "Respect for the Aged," pictures the red man in the primitive state but his tenses are present tenses, though writing at the beginning of the nineteenth century. *History,* 152-158.

254. Heckewelder states that when parents negotiate a marriage the bridegroom's mother acts as negotiatrix. The latter "begins her duties by taking a good leg of venison, or bear's meat . . to the house where the bride dwells, not forgetting to mention, that her son has killed it." The bride's mother soon brings in return some fruit or handiwork produced by her daughter. If both the children expressed themselves favorably towards the respective gifts, the matter was quickly arranged; if not, the affair was at an end.

255. A Yellow ochre, found near the Muskingum, when burnt, made a rich red paint, which Indians came many miles to obtain. Vermillion River in Ohio derived its name from the clay there obtained for painting; the same was true of Paint Creek.

256. Figures of animals being most commonly used, especially the turtle, deer, bear and wolf.

257. Heckewelder records: "The women make use of vermillion in painting themselves for dances, but they are very careful and circumspect in applying the paint, so that it does not offend or create suspicion in their husbands; there is a mode of painting which is left entirely to loose women and prostitutes." *History,* 196.

258. The Revolutionary war.

259. The Delaware leader often called King Newcomer, from his capital Newcomerstown or Gekelemukpechunk, Ohio, who refused to attend Bouquet's treaty in 1764 at Coshocton. A generous friend of the Moravians. See De Schweinitz, *Life and Times of Zeisberger,* 366, *seq.*

260. The writer speaks from notable experience, the archives of the Six Nations, than which no Indian archives were of equal moment, were deposited in Zeisberger's house at Onondaga during his residence at that mission. See *Bethlehem Diary,* Aug. 2, 1755.

261. 4 s. 4 d.

262. The primitive wampum was made of pieces of wood variously stained with different colors.

263. Containing four, eight or twelve fathoms of wampum.

264. A most interesting fact perhaps noted by no other authority.

265. Little Turtle, the famous Miami Chief, was such by choice and not by birth; for, though his father was a Miami chief, his mother was of common stock.

266. A terrible scene of drunkenness in the capital of the Delawares on the Muskingum is described by Dr. McClure, *Diary* 73-76.

267. The famous Delaware leader who assisted Netawatwees and befriended and favored the Colonies in the Revolution; Loskiel describes him as the man who "kept the chiefs and council in awe"—*History* III, 101.

268. It happens to be a matter of record that both Netawatwees and White Eyes transgressed each their authority during the Revolution, the former taking the initiative for war (De Schweinitz, *Life of Zeisberger*, 415) and White Eyes overstepping the bounds on the occasion of his visit to the American Congress (*Id.* 438.)

269. The battle at Point Pleasant in Dunmore's War between General Lewis and Cornstalk's Shawanese was the notable example of Indian preservation of the bodies of their dead from capture. During the night after the engagement all the killed and wounded were removed across the Ohio River unknown to the white army.

270. A gourd or pumpkin.

271. The Revolution.

272. Treaty of Fort Stanwix?

273. Catawbas.

274. Mohicans, a New England tribe.

275. Twightwees, called "Flatheads" in Pennsylvania, the Miamis.

276. Wawiachtenos, located in Indiana.

277. Kickapoos, settled west of Lake Michigan.

278. Tukashas? a western tribe.

279. Potawatomies of Indiana.

280. Kaskaskias, located on the river of the same name.

281. Wabash.

282. Creeks.

283. Zeisberger here follows Delaware traditions. The Shawanees were permitted to settle in Pennsylvania by the Six Nations. According to the legend given by Heckewelder, (*History*, 70-71) there was bitter warfare between the Shawanese and the Delawares.

284. Wyoming.

285. Neville's Island, below Pittsburg?

286. Kittaning, Armstrong County, Pennsylvania, at the end of the Kittaning Trail or "Ohio Path," as called on Scull's map.

287. Economy, Pa.

288. Reference here is to Dunmore's War, 1774, and the depot of Cornstalk at Point Pleasant, West Virginia.

289. Chippewas.

290. Wyoming, Pennsylvania.

291. Big Bone Lick, Kentucky.

291½. This information is of great value. It makes sure the fact that the Hurons were identical with the *Talamatans* mentioned by Cyrus Thomas, "Indian Tribes in Prehistoric Times," *Mag. Amer. History,* XX, 3. (Sept. 1888.)

292. White Eyes declared the Delawares independent at Pittsburg in 1775, but the Iroquois refused to admit this until the treaty of Greenville in 1795. Cf. Heckenwelder, *History,* 52-53; also De Schweinitz, *Life of Zeisberger,* 253.

293. Gelelemend. The weakness of this chief is fully described by De Schweinitz, *Life of Zeisberger,* 473, *seq.* The Europeans mentioned may have included General Morgan, Matthew Elliott, Simon Girty, etc.

294. The Delawares are said to have been so called because they were found on the river named from Lord De La Ware.

295. Sioux.

296. Soup.

297. Calico.

298. Such a compact seems to have existed between White Eyes and the noted warrior Glikkikan. De Schweinitz, *Life of Zeisberger,* 404.

299. An extremely interesting explanation of the origin of the name "Big Knives", the story here has truer ring, to our minds, than that which states that the tale came from Colonel Gibson and his sword. Cf. C. H. Mitchner, *Historic Events in the Muskingum and Tuscarawas Valleys,* 143.

300. Nantocoke, corrupted from *Nechticok.* The tribe, descendants of the Delawares, lived on the Maryland river of the same name.

301. Heckewelder states in his chapter on "Superstition" that a white man once informed him that a noted sorcerer once confessed that the source of their power was mental, the stronger mind acting on the weaker. "Such is the credulity of many," the sorcerer stated, "that if I only pick a little wool from my blanket and roll it between my fingers into a small round ball . . it is immediately supposed that I am preparing the deadly substance with which I mean to strike some person or other." — *History,* 233-4.

301⅓. Great Kanawha. The reference is to Dunmore's War.

301⅔. Concerning this remark we can only say with De Schweinitz, "We neither adopt these views of Zeisberger, nor pronounce them absurd. In the present aspect of demonolgy, opinions of this kind remain an open question." *Life of Zeisberger,* 341. Zeisberger's chief experience with sorcerers seems to have been in the Seneca country at the Monseytown of Goschgoschunk on the Allegheny. Here the sorcerers banded together in a conspiracy to undo the missionaries work and drive them off. *Id.* 341.

302. 1748-9.

303. Waketameki, the Indian town near Dresden, O., was called "Vomit Town" by Indian traders because some of its inhabitants attempted to achieve salvation by emetics. The reference here may be to these poor dupes. Cf. De Schweinitz, *Life of Zeisberger,* 383.

304. Big Stillwater Creek, was *Gegelemukpechunk Sipo.* The town was the first Delaware Capital at its junction with the Muskingum near Newcomerstown, Ohio; spelled Gekelemukpechuenk by Loskiel and Kekalemahpehoong by Dr. David McClure.

305. Like the famous eat-all feasts of the northern nations.

306. Monseys.

307. Mohicans.

308. Or Iroquois and Algonquin.

309. Minisink, Orange County, N. Y.

309½. Probably Cassiopeia.

310. *Hirundinidae.*

311. *Macrorhamphus griseus* (Probably).

312. *Larus* (sp.?)

313. *Aegialitis vocifera,* larger variety.

314. *Agelaius phoeniceus.*

315. *Antrostoma vociferus.*

316. *Zenaidura macroura.*

317. *Chordeiles virginianus.*

318. *Apina.*

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320. *Sciuroptems volana.*

321. *Crotalus honidus.* Probably a young specimen.

322. *Laurus* (sp.?).

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# REMINISCENCES OF A PIONEER.

EDITED BY CLEMENT L. MARTZOLFF, B. PED.

[The following reminiscences are from the pen of a Highland county pioneer, one Thomas Rogers, who as the recital reveals, was born a Virginian, and at the close of the American Revolution, moved with his family to Kentucky and thence in 1795 with the Massie party journeyed to Paint Creek, vicinity of Chillicothe, and there abided. This recital of the scenes of early times, in Ohio, is worthy of preservation and perusal, as it is a narrative at first hand, picturing the every day life of the primitive times and pioneer settlers, written by one, who though at the time of writing was nearly ninety years of age, had clear and vivid recollections of the long ago. This interesting document was secured for publication by Prof. C. L. Martzolff, Athens, Ohio, who has added to the value of the "reminiscences" by his editorial notes. — E. O. R.]

GREENFIELD, (O.) Nov. 3, 1871.

This day I, Thomas Rogers, Sr., seat myself to write a short sketch of my life and (of) my forefathers.

I was born, 1782, in Loudon County, Virginia, on Goose Creek. My father, William Rogers, took what was called a thru life[1] lease on a large tract of land some ten or twelve years before my day. At that time the country was under British rule; but at the close of the Revolutionary War the country fell into new hands and my father's title to his land was disputed, and the exact manner in which it was settled I am not able to state at this distant period. But the result was, two large slave holders settled on each side of him and so angered him with their barbarous treatment of their slaves that he began to meditate on a move to some other part.

In the fall of 1783 or 84, I think it was, my father and two of the brothers took a trip over the mountains to the Redstone or Monongahela country to seek a new home. At that time they heard of the great cane lands in Kentucky as they met with some that had visited it, and were beating up for volunteers to join

[1] A three life lease covered three generations or 99 years.

them the next spring. So father returned wonderfully bent on seeing it himself in the spring. So, he sold outright his claim to one of those slaveholders and he and Hamilton, his brother, met the delegation at Redstone now Brownsville,[2] (Pennsylvania) where they had a flatboat in readiness and embarked for the cane land. They all landed in safety in Limestone now Maysville. From this they set out for Lexington. This place was one of the most noted and largest settlements in Kentucky off from water navigation. Lexington at this time was a stockaded fort but the inhabitants were just beginning to venture to settle out some distance.

So father and uncle took a lease on some land some five miles southeast of the fort on a creek called Hickman. Here they cleared and planted six or seven acres of corn and built a cabin for our family, as uncle was a single man at this time. So after the crop was raised and cabin built father returned to Virginia by the overland route through the Cumberland mountains to prepare for moving the family to the cabin in Kentucky. This was considered a great undertaking as the road across the Alleghany mountains was so rough and rocky that it was merely possible to pass with a wagon. And indeed fifteen years after this (when) I went with mother on horseback I thought it was then almost impossible for a team to take more than the empty wagon over some places, but so it was. They made the trip to Redstone on the Monongahela even and procured a Kentucky boat. Two or three families generally joined and purchased a boat. They got them made to suit the size or number of families that would occupy them. And as it was always considered a very dangerous voyage down the Ohio they commonly went down in companies of three or four boats and at night would tie all together and float as near the middle of the river as possible for fear of an attack of the Indians on the shore.

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[2]Redstone Fort had for years been the meeting place of emigrants from Virginia and Pennsylvania on their way to Kentucky. It was the rendezvous of George Rogers Clark's men in the winter of 1788 as he prepared to go on his noted western campaign. At that time it was claimed to be within the territory of Virginia.

On this voyage down the river an incident occurred that is the first thing that I can distinctly recollect in my life. I was then just three year and a few days old. There was a great bustle in the boat, looking at something in the river. I being a pretty inquisitive little fellow was anxious to see. A man in the boat held me up above the sides of the boat and told me to look down the river and I saw the buffaloes, head and shoulders out of the water. And even to this day it seems as vivid as it was at that day. The next thing that I recollect distinctly is the day we landed at our cabin in Kentucky. I was standing up in the forepart of the wagon looking with great anxiety for our cabin. So when we came in sight I yelled out, "I see our home! I see our house!"

Now I shall attempt to give some account of our forefathers. My grandparents on my father's side were from the Old Country. Hamilton Rogers was an Irishman. Isabel, his wife, was of English descent — real Anglo-Saxon blood. They were united in marriage in Buck's county, Pennsylvania, but the exact date I can only infer from my father's birthday. He was born 1751 the year the Old Style was changed. I have heard him often speak of it. My grandfather was a shoe-maker by trade and followed it to the day of his death until he was almost double bending over his work.

They settled in Virginia about three miles east of Leesburg, Loudon county, on Catoctin mountain, and there raised a numerous family — eight sons and four daughters. While on this farm my father became of age and went down on Goose Creek (and) took a lease on some government land from King George's agents. This was before the Revolutionary War. Here he found my mother, Phoebe Swart, the third daughter of Arthur Swart, a respectable citizen near Middleburg, a wagon maker by trade. They were Hollanders or (of) Low Dutch origin. On this farm he had six children were born. While here he was called out to serve a tour in the War of the Revolution but I cannot recollect distinctly what battles he was in but I remember hearing him tell about the battle at White Plain and Saratoga. However that don't matter so it was he was not a Tory.

So after the close of the War and Independence declared, King George's titles were called in question (and) my father began to think of moving to some part where he would not be annoyed by the screams of the tortured slaves. So the result was we find him at length settled in Kentucky as heretofore stated with the hope of making Kentucky a free state. So when she attained a population that entitled her (to) a constitution of her own my father took a deep interest in getting those elected that would favor his views on the slave question and did succeed in electing Colonel James Smith and Father Rice as he was called. But when the final vote was cast slavery gained it by one vote. This was in 1792. Here I will leave this part of my narrative and give some further account of Kentucky life.

My father and brother Hamilton took a lease on land on Little Hickman belonging to Thomas Cavens, an old bachelor who made his home at my father's until he found a wife. Here the two jointly labored and cleared out their lease and sold their time to their landlord.

In the meantime the Indians committed depredations on the settlements around. So there was (a) draft made for soldiers to make a campaign against them, chastise them and bring them to time if possible. So just in spring when the time and labor was so much needed to prepare for a crop the expedition started on a six weeks' campaign. If I recollect it was called Clark's campaign.[3] I can recollect well seeing my mother and my older brothers and sisters all out in the clearing hauling rails, making fence, burning brush (and) doing what they could while father was gone.

But fortunately they were not kept away as long as they expected or they would not (have) been able to get in their corn in good time.

When the friends in Virginia heard from us in Kentucky they began to talk of following to the fat land. So one after another came on till all his brothers, sisters and fathers (?) all

[3]This must refer to the Indian expedition of 1786 which ended by Clark taking a party to the Wabash region in the autumn of the same year. The result was a keen disappointment.

moved to Kentucky. But here I am a little ahead of my story. My father sold his time on his lease and bought land on Stoner Creek in Bourbon county. Here all his brothers and fathers (?) came and settled in one neighborhood. Now we might suppose this restless spirit of emigration would cease and settle down in contentment but not so. Just at this time in 1792, the convention rose and slavery triumphed. One of the members of the convention, Col. James Smith, who lived near to us on his return came to see father and gave a full account of their proceedings. I remember well my father's expression after hearing Smith through. "Well, well, Kentucky will not hold me much longer." Mother was standing on her feet listening with breathless anxiety. On hearing father's expression (she) asked, "Well, William, where next?" Father replied, "I will be among the first to go to the Northwestern Territory," and he made good his promise.

Here I will leave my narrative and go back to the first settling in Kentucky to relate some incidents that may be of interest to those who are fond of romance or scenes of the hunter. I was always a very attentive listener to stories about hunting.

I remember seeing my father come home from a hunting tour while we lived on Hickman in Fayette county. It was after night. I saw him bring in his load of meat and skins. The meat was in a bag made out of a buffalo hide. There was buffalo beef, bear meat for pork and deer for venison — all cut off the bones. I remember well the buffalo skin was very fine wool. So of course it was a young one not more perhaps than a year and a half old. I remember well seeing my mother shearing the wool off it and I think I wore stockings made from the wool. It was very common at this time for farmers to tan their own leather for shoes and dress their deer skins for clothing. Buckskin overalls were a common dress at this time. My father generally tanned his heavy hides such as buffalo and bear and beef-hide when he killed one. He was a shoemaker also and generally worked till bedtime on his shoe bench. As soon as my sisters were big enough to sit on the loom bench he had a loom provided for them. So the loom was kept up till bedtime and us boys were furnished work of some kind also, shelling corn or

filling quills for the weaver and indeed very often in the clearing burning brush till nine or ten o'clock at night. Once in a while we could (have) a night to take a hunt for coons and opossums. But it was the custom in father's house to keep all at work of some kind till bed time.

Here I will leave this part of my history and relate some of the incidents I heard father relate during the Indian campaign.

First I will tell how they prepared their provisions for their tour in the woods. They take about a gallon of corn and parch it well then pound it fine and mix it with as much sugar as would make it sweet enough for coffee, then put it in a buckskin bag and stow it in their knapsack; then take a chunk of raw bacon wrap it up well (and) stow this in the knapsack. A tincup (was) tied to the strap of their knapsack. This store is for a reserve — never to be used till there is no other shift; with a tomahawk and butcher's knife and rifle-gun and blanket; this is the equipage of (an) Indian campaign. It was common to have a commissary department on hand but it was very difficult to take a full supply of provisions, hence the necessity of having something to fall back on.

On this trip there were some amusing anecdotes occurred. One I will relate. One of the hunters and a spy also, was told one morning as they started out on their march there must be no shooting that day unless it was at the enemy. Mike came in (and) went direct to the general, "Well, Mike, what is your report for the day?" "Well, not much only I found a buffalo lying dead down in the branch. Would it be any harm to take a piece of the rump?" "Ah, Mike, how came he dead?" "Ecod, that was his lookout and not mine!" So Mike was allowed to take rump and all and the general took share with the rest and no further complaint for breach of orders.

In this campaign a man by the name of Philemon Thomas was commissary or quartermaster of whom I shall have cause to speak hereafter. At this point I will leave this part of my narrative and carry out the history of our family living on Stoner in Bourbon county.

I have told that while at this place the brothers and sisters and grandfathers came and leased lands and were all settled in

one neighborhood again. At this time there was no organized Presbyterian Church in this part of the country. There was occasional preaching in Paris by Adam Rankin, an Old Side Seceder but the people on Cane Ridge and Stoner settlements united and formed a congregation and called it Cane Ridge on account of the dense canebrakes that surrounded it.

Here they called Robert Finley[4] as their pastor, a very able and eloquent man from one of the Carolinas, I am not certain which. He soon gathered a large congregation together and all seemed to promise well. Religion seemed to (be) the all absorbing topic. He soon established a high school to educate young men for the ministry. Religious zeal run very high even to enthusiasm. Just in the midst of this popular prosperity it got out that their pastor was seen coming home from Paris drunk. I can remember well my father came home one day from the blacksmith shop. It was on the road from town to Cane Ridge. He seemed very sad. Mother said to him, "What is the matter, William?" "Oh," said he, "I have heard sad news and from one I cannot doubt. Our pastor was seen passing his house so drunk he could scarcely ride." This struck a damp on all the neighborhood. This sore stroke on the church and the triumph of slavery so defeated my father's prospects that now he was determined then even to leave Kentucky and make one more trial for a free country.

Just about this time Nate Massie issued a proclamation to all who wished to explore the Scioto country to meet him at the Three Islands now Manchester, on a certain day in May next and he would make a tour through the Paint Creek and Scioto country. So on the appointed day about fifty men from all parts were on the ground equipped for the trip, some of them old Indian fighters and many of them young but very desirous to see Indians. So some of these old veterans told these brave lads they would hide or run if they saw an Indian and so it turned out. When their bravery was needed it was not there but as

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[4]Robert Finley conducted classical schools in North Carolina and Tennessee. On the advice of Massie he came to Chillicothe and there established the second Presbyterian Church in the state.

old Captain Petty told them they would hide, some of them, in a sink hole or run the wrong course.

Here I will leave this part of (the) subject and turn to the subject of our minister's fall. He was soon called to account by the proper authorities and proof being abundant was dismissed. From this time he seemed to give himself up to dissipation for a long time, both he and his wife. But in justice to him and his wife they both became zealous and we hope true penitents and zealous Methodists. I heard Father Finley preach when in connection with the Methodists one of his best Calvinistic sermons at a campmeeting on Rattlesnake when he was very old and frail not long before his death.

I will now return and relate some of (the) scenes of my early life recollections while we lived on Stoner. I think we moved to our farm on Stoner in 1789. This was a dense canebrake almost as thick as a hempfield. This was fine food for cattle as it remained green all winter. It was common at that day to take the cattle out to the fresh cane region and bore holes in the trees and logs and fill them with salt. This would "hant" the cattle to this place and the owner would visit the place once a week and call them. The lead one was always belled. In this way large droves were wintered for a few more years. But the cane was soon eat out and fields of corn took its place. At this (time) I was about eight years old.

In this creek was abundance of fine fish, so in the spring at spawning time the riffles would be literally covered with fish. And it was our task every day to go out where the cane was dead and dry and gather it for torches to fish with at night. This was great sport and very profitable also. As little fellows that were too young to handle the gig (we) would keep along the shore with a basket and receive the fish and pack them home. Sometimes the creek would (be) light with torches for miles up and down the stream as people from miles off came to fish.

At this day grist mills were scarce and far between, so my father made a handmill to grind corn. This was employment for us boys, every night, sometimes till bedtime, especially in the dry season of the year. And this was the only one in the neighborhood. It was often as thronged with people contending for

their turn as watermills are. At this (time) sawmills were scarce. The first one erected anywhere in reach was at Paris five miles below us. Father and some of the brothers concluded they would prepare a raft of saw logs and float them down to the mill at Paris. So they got their rafts all ready for a voyage but a suitable freshet did not come till it was cold weather. However the logs must be launched and off they went. Each raft had its captain. I can remember seeing them passing on down. One man took a canoe with the provisions and a jug of whiskey, of course, as nothing of importance could be done at that day without that very essential article. Well, on they sailed for a mile or so till they came to a short turn in the stream where there was a drift of timber lodged against trees in water. Their rafts being heavy and unwieldly, here one raft stuck. The other more lucky or better managed, passed on. Well, what could they do to extricate themselves. The only alternative was to cut them asunder and let them go alone and follow with the boat and conduct them the best they could. So when they got near the milldam this was the trying time. They could not get them ashore as fast as they came down and some went over the dam, and indeed both rafts were wrecked on the route.

I mentioned in some of the former part of my history that father generally tanned his own leather, so at this time he had a large trough full of leather in tan. It was near the creek bank. The creek rose one night very high beyond its usual bounds. In the morning his tan-trough was gone. So as soon as the water fell he put off down in search of his tan-yard. About a mile down he found it in a drift all safe. He got it ashore, took out the leather, hung (it) up on a tree to dry and sent me for it.

About this time some friends from Virginia came to visit us; so as a matter of course, we must show them whatever was great or uncommon. There was a large sycamore tree about a mile down the creek at a place called Stroud's Ford. When any of the friends came we generally took them to see the big tree. Almost every one that came had heard of the big tree at Stroud's Ford. It was a place of resort for all that visited this part. There was a door cut in one side some three or four feet wide. I have seen it measured at different times. Two persons could

stand up in the inside and stretch out their arms full length from each side and touch their finger ends in the center. It was fully twelve feet across the hollow, breast high to a grown person. This may seem like an unreasonable story, but I certify to the truth of it.

I mentioned in a former page that the brothers and grandfather had all, or most of them, followed my father to Kentucky and settled near (each) other. All had bought lands and opened farms. Here another trouble began about their land titles. There were so many different methods of taking up the wild lands that it was very difficult to know when they got the right one or one that (would) stand in law. Here would come a man and lay claim to the place we lived on and produce his title and my father knew little about law and would not venture a lawsuit. He would rather pay for his farm over again than run the risk of a suit. So he paid twice for his farm. A third claim came on. This time he would not agree to pay it and sold for what was considered the worth of his improvements to his neighbor and let him fight it out with the man who claimed it.

About this time Nate Massie issued a proclamation to all that wished to see the Scioto country to meet him on a certain day at the Three Islands, now Manchester, and he would take them through the country. At the appointed (day) about fifty men were on hand prepared for the trip, my father among the rest — all well armed and mounted. I believe there was no formal election for a captain or leader, but it seemed to be fitting to award the command to Massie although there were several old Indian fighters along. Captain Petty for one and a man by the name of Fellenash who had been a prisoner with the Indians and was well acquainted with Indian warfare. Just at this time General Wayne was negotiating a treaty with the Indians at Greenville. It was not expected to meet with any hostility from them, so they set out for the Scioto country. The second day they arrived at the falls on Paint Creek.[5] Here they halted and spent the evening much delighted in exploring these beautiful rich, rye-grass

[5]Rev. James Finley gives a good account of this skirmish. It occurred in July, 1795. See Evans' and Stivers' Adams County, page 65.

bottoms and the beautiful streams of water pouring over the falls. All started in great glee down the valley much (pleased) with their trip so far. They did not go far till they found a gang of horses feeding on the fine rye-grass bottom. "Now what shall we do with these horses?" The horses fled before them to where their owners were camped at the lower end of the bottom. When the Indians saw the company of armed men following their horses they thought they were trying to catch them. So the Indians fired on them and our party returned the compliment and routed them and took all their goods.

In the scrimmage we lost a valuable man, Joshua Robinson by name. He and his brother William from the Redstone country were in the company. This was all that was touched on our side. It was not known if there was any Indians killed. So as soon as they gathered up the Indians' goods they set off with their booty and Mr. Robinson on a bier, but it was soon discovered that he could not live. They halted on the back side of the bottom and prepared the best they could for his funeral. They found a large old tree with a fork lying pretty well rotted. Here they hewed out (a) coffin, wrapped his blanket around him and covered (him) as well as they could with earth then piled on large logs to prevent wolves from digging him out. This camp of Indians was headed by John, a Wyandot chief. He was at the treaty [Greenville] but he became offended at something and left before it closed but must have got his portion of the annuities for it was rich in goods. Here they found a white boy of fourteen or fifteen years old. So when the fight was over they sent three men in pursuit of the horses intending to get them as well as their goods. While on pursuit of the horses this boy[6] jumped up from his hiding place and held up both hands for quarter. He was taken to camp and clothed with the best they had and a horse and gun given him out of the booty and he was taken home to his parents over in Kentucky. After they done the best they could for the dead they set out for home that night. They camped over on Sunfish Creek about eleven or twelve miles from the battle ground. Here they put out strong sentinels expecting

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[6] This boy was Armstrong (Wilcoxon).

to be attacked. Well, all was quiet till just before day the Indians were discovered creeping around very sly. So they were fired on by one of the company of sentinels and they returned the fire. My father who was on sentry also could see them by the blaze of their fire. He fired at the lump and wounded their captain. This defeated their plans so completely they had to take their wounded and retreat for safety. When my (father) fired the Indians returned the fire by the blaze of his gun and made several holes in the blanket he had round him and one ball struck the tree he stood by about as high as his breast. So he made a narrow escape himself.

While part of the Indians were taking care of their wounded the others kept up a fire on the camp but no damage was done but one man[7] slightly wounded in the thigh and one horse killed. So they packed up and made for home and landed at Manchester with a rich prize of plunder consisting of three horses, one prisoner reclaimed and (an) abundance of spoil. So they made a sale of the plunder and each one bid off such articles as he chose. I remember the sale amounted to one hundred and fifty pounds. And here they separated for their homes in different parts, some of them from Redstone or the Monongahela country as (it) was called at this time. I remember well when father and Amos Evans came in sight my mother looked out, "Oh," she exclaimed, "they have had a fight with the Indians," as she saw they were loaded with Indian plunder such as camp kettles, blankets and so on.

On parting Massie told (them) he would provide lands for all that wanted lands on Paint Creek or Scioto, shortly. So he sent out handbills to different points where (he) would be on certain days and prepared to furnish lands to all who would pay in advance one-half the money at eighty dollars per one hundred acres. Just such land as that on Paint Creek where they defeated the Indians. So he made my father's house one point. Here father and grandfather and several of his brothers contracted for lands and all got land they were well pleased with.

At this time Wayne's army was about to be discharged so

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[7]This man was a Mr. Gilfillan.

Massie was on hand with money and bought up warrants very low and returned in the spring and employed several surveyors, went to work, and by mid-summer gave notice to all who had advanced him money, those lands were ready for them; and I believe every man was well pleased with the selection Massie had made for them, for he had every man's land laid out according to the amount of money paid him.

He assigned to my father a place on the north fork of Paint Creek as his home, some four miles west of Chillicothe. He also gave him two hundred in the big bottom on the Scioto. In the spring of this year, 1796, he proposed to all who had paid for land in advance they had the liberty to raise corn on the prairie at the mouth of Paint Creek. About twenty men took up with the offer and made a fine crop of corn which was a very great assistance to all the early settlers. That summer he laid out Chillicothe and proposed to give an in and (a) lot to all who would build a house on their lot that year. So father sent my brother John. He was then about eighteen years old. He built his cabin and cleared the four acre lot and made corn on it that summer. I came out, joined him and commenced the farm on North Fork. Here we commenced on the 24th day of August, 1797, and I claim the honor of cutting down the first tree ever cut by a white man for improvement on North Paint Creek. After we had built a cabin here father and I went back to Kentucky. He took me in to bring out a supply of provisions for the winter. On our way we camped on Three Island Creek some two or three miles out from the river. A wolf came in the night, took hold of our wallet of provisions under my head and jerked it out and waked me. When I waked, the dog was standing on me snapping at the wolf at my head. My father called out, took the gun and shot after him but it was too dark to see him.

On our way we fell in with old Daniel Boone and a son and a son-in-law returning from a hunting tour up on the Kanawha. We lodged with them at May's Lick and traveled together to their cabin on Hinkston. As father and him had been through some campaigns together I was highly interested in hearing him recount the scenes they had passed through. As we passed the battle ground near the Blue Licks he pointed out the manner of

the battle and place where his brother and son were killed, and how he had told the commander how the Indians would have the advantage of the ground; but they would not hear him and they paid dearly for their rashness. This was one of the sorest defeats (that) ever befell the Kentucky troops. When (we) came to Boone's cabin father told him he would have to move soon as he had cut down all the trees near his cabin.

Here I will relate some things that I should (have) mentioned on a previous page. This year the squirrels were very plenty and seemed as if they would destroy the corn crop entirely and powder was not to be had. So father and Uncle Thomas concluded they could make gunpowder if they could get saltpeter. Well, they gathered the dry dirt from under old houses and tried their hands to make saltpeter. They succeeded to make about two or three pounds. Now, how, and what was the powder proportion of the different materials? Uncle had been in a powder mill once in Virginia. So they made a trial and after several days' experimenting, got powder. This was the manner in which father came to be a powder maker. About this time saltpeter began to be found in dry caves in the mountains and father set up the powder making business. Saltpeter soon became very plenty and father got the name of making the best powder in the market. So every summer after the corn was laid by and harvest over we would make powder a month or so and attend at the courts to sell it. He generally took me along to retail it when he had other business to tend to. I was sitting in the courtyard with my bag of powder open. Along came a man smoking his pipe and stooped down to look at the powder. I saw the ashes fall from his pipe. I grabbed the pipe and in my haste run the stem in his mouth. He seemed to be much offended till I showed him the danger he was in. So (he) was glad I had more thought than himself. This was a pretty profitable business at that time and when he concluded to move to Ohio he made a couple of kegs full, seventy-five pounds each and packed them on a horse. When we came out to Chillicothe I sold them for one dollar and twenty-five cents a pound to James and McCoy, merchants in Chillicothe.

I now seat myself to resume my history. In former pages

I stated we commenced improvements on the North Fork of Paint Creek, four miles west of Chillicothe (the) 24th day of August, 1797. My father and brother John and myself here built a cabin and dug out a canoe so that we (could) cross when the water was high and for the purpose of fishing, as fish were abundant at this time in these waters. When this was done father and myself went back to Kentucky and left John to keep camp and commence clearing for a crop next season. On this trip we fell in with Daniel Boone at May's Lick. We lodged with him and his son, Jesse, his youngest son and a son-in-law, a lawyer from Paris. They had been on a hunting tour upon the Sandy[8] but had not succeeded well as it was a very dry fall. So as Boone and father were companions in an Indian campaign together we kept company with them and rode and walked time about to Boone's cabin. He lived on Hinkston about eight miles short of our home on the old "buffalo trace" made by them from the cane region to the Blue Licks, a place of great resort at certain seasons to get salt water to drink. These animals would travel in droves in great numbers in manner like the wild geese. They had a leader and would follow him in single file no matter how large the drove. So this trace was in many places, especially in crossing ravines they would cut down the banks on each side to the depth of our horses' backs. This trace passed right by our door on Stoner and on to the great cane fields on the Kentucky river at Boonesborough. When we passed the Blue Licks Boone told us some amusing stories, how he had amused himself looking at them from a concealed place. It beat any bull fight he ever saw. There would droves meet here from different parts and like our cattle when they meet with strangers must try their strength. This was great sport for the lonely old pioneer. Well, so much for a buffalo story.

After we had gathered the corn and done up (the) fall work father and I loaded our horses with provisions and started for Ohio, then called Northwestern Territory. Nothing uncommon occurred till we got about halfway from Limestone to our

[8]Mr. Rogers mentions this occurrence on a previous page by saying the Kanawha. The Sandy is more probably correct.

home. We camped a few miles over Big Brush Creek and started before day hoping to make (the) trip to our cabin that day but a terrible snowstorm came on us and made the traveling so slavish we could not get on as fast as we would and we were calculating on having a dreadful time in getting a fire for a camp made for the night. But to our joy and surprise we found a cabin on Paint Creek built since we had been on the road. Here we turned in for the night and a dreadful night it was! The cabin had a roof but no door shutter and no chinking nor daubing. There was a woman and two or three children. Her husband was not at home. He was out on a bear hunt. So we cut and got in plenty of wood and kept up a large fire all night, the snow pouring in through the cracks of the cabin. The woman and children took one corner, laid down what bedding they had and covered (themselves) with deer and bear skins. Just at night two (other) travelers came in also. So we all lay on the floor the best we could. We (were) glad to see day. I believe it was the coldest night I ever passed in the woods. The next day we got to our home but when we (were) about four or five miles on the road father told me he would go ahead on foot and left me to bring the horses and he would kill a deer. But I could not ride fast enough to keep from freezing. So I commenced hallooing for father to stop and take the horses and let me run on foot or I would freeze as I had got my feet wet crossing a run. We got home to our cabin in safety and found John well and a family living with him — an old lady, a son and a daughter. This made our cabin pretty throng but the old lady was willing to cook for us for her room and it was a great help to us for we could go on better with our work in the clearing. So father went out the next day and killed a deer and some turkeys but this was rather poor fare as both deer and turkeys were poor on account of deep snow. But just here a man came along with some bear meat. We got a quarter of it for the loan of our dog he had borrowed. This was the man that owned the cabin we lodged at on Paint Creek. Father stayed with us about a week and left us to make ground ready for a crop in the spring. So we went to work in earnest and cleared and fired about ten or twelve acres by time for planting corn. And father hired the

young man to clear a piece for meadow. This old lady was (a) great guard over me. She was a devoted, pious, motherly, Christian woman and seemed to take the place of a mother, especially as I was under the restraint of my parents. She would always have some comforting story to (tell) us when we would be discouraged to cheer us. And on the Sabbath she would have us reading our books and catechising us on our questions as if she was our mother. In the spring her married son and family came out from Kentucky and they went upon Darby and leased land and moved there in the fall.

Here I will relate an anecdote that took place during the winter. A Presbyterian minister was coming through from Kentucky and got to the crossing of Paint Creek (on) a very stormy day and called at a cabin where old William Kent had just built but had no chimney to it and only part of the house floored. He made his fire in one side on the ground and his bed on the floored part. The minister asked how far to where he could get a place to lodge. He was told the distance to our cabin. Well, he was afraid to attempt to make the trip as it was so cold and snowing fast. So what could he do but stay with him and share with him on the hard puncheon floor? Well, what could he do with his horse? He was told he could tie him to a tree or turn him out and let him browse with his ox; for he had no feed for him. The minister did not like the idea of turning his horse loose. Had he no shelter that he could have? There was no other shelter but his old camp and his sow and pigs had taken possession of that and would not like to be turned out so stormy a night. Well, he insisted and at length he consented to let him tie his horse under the roof of his camp and turn out the sow and pigs. When he came to view the premises the sow had rooted up the ground in the center and made it so uneven it was very uncomfortable (for) a horse to stand in it. He asked if it could not be made level so the horse would feel more comfortable. Yes, he had a hoe he could have. He handed him the hoe. Now he might make (it) to suit his mind. He replied he had never labored any in his life. "Oh, then you have the advantage of me. I have labored all my life and yours is all in you yet. So now is your time to try your hand." This strange conduct beat him.

He began to think of leaving for he thought he might not be safe in his hands. So Kent saw he was alarmed and took the hoe and leveled the ground and told him he was only joking with him. He made him as comfortable as he could in the circumstances. He shared his rough fare with him and gave him a part of his blanket to cover him on his hard puncheon floor. The next day he came to our cabin. Here he got the best our good old lady could produce. He told us all about his doleful night he spent at Mr. Kent's. Here he got all the sympathy and kindness that the good old mother could bestow on a minister of Jesus Christ. He was in search of a place to settle as a minister, he told us and intended to locate in Chillicothe if the way was open and would preach there on Sabbath. So all of us except the old lady went to hear him. This was no less than the Rev. Doctor Speer who was the first minister ever settled in Chillicothe. He was now just licensed and married. Here he moved in the spring and organized the first Presbyterian Church[9] in Ross county. This was in the winter of 1797 and 98, he came to our house. A short time after this Kent came to our house. When the subject came up about the young minister that lodged with him some time before, he told us all about it. He said he had fine fun with him and told us he noticed he had never seen hard times and he would give him a chance to try his hand. He said he saw he was afraid of him, but he made him as comfortable as he could when he saw his alarm. This same Rev. Speer is father or grandfather, I am not certain which, to the Rev. Speer who was missionary to China some years ago and returned to this country.

This was an uncommon hard winter. Snow (was) on the ground. We had to cut down fresh brush every morning to keep our cattle alive. We had several milch cows but they gave but little milk as they could not get grass. When the ground was bare there was rye grass equal to a rye field. So our cattle and horses got very weak by spring. Our dependence for meat was mostly wild game but we were not skillful hunters and indeed it

[9]This statement does not agree with what is usually accepted as the first Presbyterian organization in Ross County.

was very difficult to get near the deer as there was a hard crust on the snow. The deer could hear one before they could get within shooting distance. Our provision was like to run short and hard work and poor fare began to discourage us. But our good old mother would cheer us up by some comforting promise from the scriptures telling us the Lord would not let his children suffer, "Put your trust in him." So here would come some relief not expected. Sometimes a flock of turkeys would come around the house and we would kill one or two. Sometimes a deer would come and browse among the cattle, so we would kill one -- poor, but still we could eat them still making the old lady's word good. At length along came a man with a small lot of fat hogs from Kentucky. Well, how could we get one? John concluded we must have some pork to cook with our turkey and deer. So (the) old man concluded he could trust us. He was Duncan McArthur's father and told John to pay his son Duncan when he got the next money. We knew father would approve of the contract when he came out; so we lived well.

The next thing was corn to make us bread. The nearest place corn could be got was at the station below Chillicothe. We made out to raise two dollars and twenty-five cents from travelers. I and young Mr. Une (?) went down to the station and got three bushels apiece. We came up to the horse-mill in Chillicothe. Here we got it ground by paying fifty cents besides the toll. This was pretty dear bread after the sixth was taken for toll. And it was ground so very coarse little would go through the sieve.

About this time the traders from about Pittsburg began to bring down their flour and bacon in big canoes or barges and run up the Scioto river to Chillicothe. This was a great relief if we only had the money. So (the) next bread stuff we got was flour from these traders. This brought us through the winter. When the snow melted off, our cattle could get plenty of rye grass. They began to thrive and we got plenty of milk. Heretofore there was no churn to be had so what butter was made our good old mother made it by stirring it with her hand in a pail. But now a family moved in and settled near us on (the) other side of the creek so we could borrow their churn. Now we had but-

ter plenty. This was a great substitute in cooking our venison and turkey meat. And indeed I sold many a pound to travelers after the family moved away. I was often asked where the landlady was. When they found out I made the butter they would be very doubtful about it being very clean.

At this time there was a road[10] laid out through from Limestone to Wheeling by Chillicothe and Zanesville. It was surveyed, marked and some brush cut out so that a person on horseback could travel it. And being so much higher than the old route from Kentucky to the east there was a great rush of travel on it. Our cabin was often covered all over the floor of a night with lodgers and we seldom had anything to sell to them. So we concluded we would get a keg of liquor and retail (it) and a bag of corn. At this time there was corn in Chillicothe to be had at a dollar a bushel. So I went and got a sack of corn and a keg of liquor. We would sell corn at twenty-five cents a gallon and liquor at twelve and a half (cents) a half pint. And sometimes we could spare a pound of butter. In this way we made a little change to get our coffee and other necessaries. If we had any milk this was in good demand; venison jerk was good sale. When we killed a deer in hot weather the only way we could save it, we cut off all fleshy parts and salt it and the next day we make a fire out by, let (it) burn down, then make a scaffold over the fire and lay the meat over the fire, about half cook it and dry it. In this way it could be saved. This is the Indian method of saving meat in warm weather. This was much pursued by travelers.

This road was laid out by order of the government by a man of the name of Zane from Wheeling and called Zane's Trace. He got a portion of land at the crossing of every large stream that needed a ferry, for his services. How much I can't say, but I think it was a section as far as the Scioto,[11] as all east of that was Congress lands. I think it the same that was proprietor of Zanesville on the Muskingum river. At this time the In-

[10]Zane's Trace.

[11]Zane secured three tracts of land, one at Zanesville one at Lancaster and one at Chillicothe.

dians were allowed to hunt within our bounds by the treaty of 1794 until we got numerous enough to be an independent state. So they made good use of this grant and they were our chief supply for venison and bear meat. They would call by our cabin on their way to market in Chillicothe frequently and ask for bread and milk and sometimes they would ask for whisky. But we never would let them know we had whisky for fear they would get drunk and endanger our lives as a drunken Indian is about as dangerous as a mad dog.

When the winter broke we had a very early and favorable spring and we got along with our clearing and by the 10th of May we planted our corn in good time and order. Now we had some leisure for hunting and fishing. About this time I killed the first deer in my life and I believe the first I ever shot at. You may be sure I was a very proud boy. I had killed turkeys but never got a shot at a deer. Now I was a hunter. We could get fish in abundance by either the gig or hook. Now our corn demanded our attention, so we gave it close attention and made a good crop. Father and two more of my brothers came out in July and we went to work and built a larger house for the family. Then all went back to Kentucky but myself and James a younger brother, to move the family. While we were here alone I went out with a man to take a hunt but we were not successful and I exposed myself and took the flux and had no one to nurse me but my young brother. I never felt the want of my mother as I did now. I had no knowledge how to treat the complaint but I got advice from travelers as there were some lodging with us almost every night. So by the time the family came home I was pretty well again but we got very little work done. We had orders to blade the corn and save the fodder before it was frosted but the frost had come and very little of it saved.

When I heard from travelers they had crossed the river at Limestone we were expecting them on in three days from that time. So the third day I started to meet them on foot expecting to meet them by noon at least, but I heard nothing of them till I got to the falls of Paint. There was no travel on the road that day so I turned in for the night weary, hungry and discouraged, as I was weak yet from my spell of sickness. There was

about sixteen miles I had traveled without a bit to eat, not expecting to go more than eight or nine miles. So here I lay down in a corner like a sick kitten. I had not been here long till some one called at the door to ask for lodging. I sprang to my feet hoping to hear from our folks. When (I) came out who should it be but old Andrew Caughross (?) an old neighbor in Kentucky. He said, "Well, Tom, is that you? Why, my boy, your father and family are just out back here on the road. They stopped to camp for the night." Now I felt as light as a fox. I started without asking any more questions and run for life but I soon met John coming to get corn for the horses. I turned to help get the corn. When we got our sacks full of corn we set out for camp and found them all enjoying themselves in their movable house (and) very much surprised to see me as they heard I was lying sick at our cabin. I believe I never was (so) glad to see my mother nor was she ever gladder to see her son. She had intended to leave the "flitting" and come on by herself to my relief but I had sent a message by a traveler if he met them to tell mother I was mending; not (to) be uneasy about me. But mother was still fearful I might be worse than I let on to be.

The next morning we were off for home in high spirits, mother and sister on horseback with the little ones that could not travel on foot, and myself and brother Ham and a man father had hired to help drive the cattle all went on ahead of the wagons with the cattle. When we got within about three miles of home mother and sister left us as they could travel faster than we could with the cattle and we got home at a late hour that night. But the wagons did not arrive till next day. Here we settled down on the west bank of the North Fork of Paint Creek.

"Now," says father, "I have made my last move in this world, I trust," and so it was.

When I started to meet them I took the gun hoping to kill a deer or turkey on the way, never dreaming of such a tramp. I killed a turkey and hung it up by the road but when I came back it was spoiled — all fly-blown. Well, now we were all at home once more for which I trust we felt thankful. Oh, what a comfort it was to my dear mother to think she was done traveling and especially as we had got away from slavery and out

of hearing of the screams of the slaves. (Father said) "Well, now, boys, look around. Here is all this forest has to be cleared off. Now you see what has to be done to make a living. So go to work. I am getting old and I must depend on you to open me a farm as my day for hard labor is past."

So in a few days father took us out and staked out about twenty acres of our fine bottom land and told us this must be cleared for corn next spring. This was our work for the winter. When the weather was dry, we cut, grubbed and burned brush. When it was wet or snow on the ground we cut down and cut up the brush and logs and tall timber. So by spring we had about thirty acres for corn with what we cleared before father moved out.

About this time brother John came of age and began to think of doing for himself. So father bought land for him on Dry Run six miles above Chillicothe. In the fall of 1799 he built him a house on his land and married the last day of the year 1799. Now it was my lot to take charge of the farm and carry on the work. So we labored on and improved the farm till we had about as much cleared land as we could attend to and an overplus of corn. We, like the rich man in the parable began to cast about in our minds and say, "What will we do with all of our produce?" It was soon decided not to pull down our barn but we will build a still house and dispose of our surplus grain in making whiskey, for at this time no one thought there was any harm in the business. So at it we went. I was at that time an expert with the broad ax and my two brothers good choppers, so in a short time we had a house built for the purpose and a couple of stills in it. Now there was work for us all both night and day.

Here I must return to the year 1800. In this year my mother's father and mother died in Virginia and mother was requested to come in and receive her share of the household goods with her two sisters the only heirs. This was something of an undertaking for a woman on horseback as this was the common mode of travel at this day and that through a wild unsettled wilderness all the way to Wheeling at least. Well, about the 15th of September of this year mother, myself and William Means

set out on horseback on our journey of over four hundred miles. At Chillicothe at this time there were some settlements (and) at the crossings of Muskingum and at Lancaster. We had to camp out two or three nights but were fortunate in getting in company with some Kentucky merchants. This relieved our fear from robbers. There had been several cases of robbery on this road but we got through to the settlement at Wheeling and no accident worth relating.

Here the company of merchants left us and we turned off the direct road and stopped a day or two at a friend's on the Monongahela river at the mouth of Little Whitey to rest mother and to recruit the horses. From this we (went by) the mountains by way of the Sandy Creek glades and fell into the old road at Josph Tevers at the big crossings. Here we were on the old Braddock road that he traveled with his army to that fatal ground near Pittsburg where Braddock was defeated by the Indians in the year 1755. We followed this road over the mountains to near the town of Cumberland. Here we took the Winchester road to Middleburg where mother's sister lived. Our last days of travel were very stormy with sleet and snow. My mother was very much outdone when (we) landed at her sister's in Middleburg. This was a happy meeting after a separation of fifteen years. Here we were met by all the friends then living but the dear parents were gone to rest. Her two sisters and their husbands were living but the eldest sister's husband was on his death bed, not able to be about much nor even to talk more than a few words at a time. This was a great grief to mother as McFarland was a very great favorite of her's.

Now much of the time was spent in relating scenes that had transpired since they had been separated. This was the topic of conversation and mother was able to give some very interesting stories she had passed through since she left them.

While we were among the friends my birthday came on the 19th day of October. I was determined to see the place where I first drew vital air so I got directions how to find it. I set off by myself through the fields but nothing could I find to mark the spot but the remains of the old bank of dirt and the remains of the old chimney bottom. This was my eighteenth birthday. We

spent about a month in visiting old acquaintances and friends and mother and her sisters made a divide of their mother's household effects. We made ready for our journey home. My mother took her mother's old riding mare in part for her dower and a new saddle for me. So I put my old saddle on the old mare and packed her all the way home. This was a troublesome job to lead a packhorse four hundred and fifty miles. I was now just eighteen years old and mother near fifty. What boy at this day would think of undertaking such a trial or where is the woman at this day that could think of undertaking the like? Verily are we not a degenerate race when compared with what our ancestors were?

Well we took leave of our friends about the first of November and nothing particular occurred till we landed at old Mr. Robinson's on the Monongahela where we stopped to rest on our way in. Here we lay by over the Sabbath till his son John got ready and came with us to his brother's, a near neighbor of ours. After resting a few days here we started for Ohio. We now had the company and help of young Mr. Robinson. We had the Monongahela to ferry. At this time there was nothing but a small flat boat to cross in so my pack horse was frightened when the oars began to work and jumped out of the boat and threw my mother's horse out also. Here we lost our wallet of provisions and wet her saddle and blankets and pillows she had to ride on. We got a grab hook and fished a long time trying to recover our lost wallet but had to go without it. Mother had a very uncomfortable ride till night when we got all dried again. When he got to the Ohio river at Wheeling we took care to take our load off the horses before we put them on the boat and crossed safe. Now we were in Ohio again. There was several new houses built since we went through before so we got a cabin to lodge in every night on our way home. We arrived at home the fifteenth day after a fatiguing journey, found all well and glad to see us safe on the North Fork of Paint Creek.

We rode a pair of dapple gray horses that was noticed and admired by everybody on the road and had a great many offers for them. I was very fearful some time we would lose them as they were admired by many. Indeed I was alarmed one night

in Virginia. We had our horses kept out on the farm about a mile from town. One morning they were missing. We spent some very uneasy hours till about noon a man came in with the horses. Some negroes had taken them to ride the night before to see their wives and overstayed themselves and were afraid to (be) seen on them at daylight and turned them out and a man who knew them got them and brought them home.

Now I am at home again ready to resume the old routine of business. Well, the corn is not gathered yet as we had the horses away and I was the main hand. This was our constant employment for about a month or more. We would gather corn all day and go to huskings every night. I remember of one fall I gathered corn every day for twenty-one days and attended a husking every night. We had thirty-four wagon loads of corn ourselves and I hauled one hundred for the neighbors. I have often wondered how we stood it.

Now I must give some further account of our success in whisky making. This may sound strange at this day of reform on this subject but every honest historian will openly confess and relate his errors as well as his virtues, so I shall endeavor to state the truth and let the public judge of my conduct. At this day the justice or propriety of manufacturing your surplus produce into liquor was never called in question. Indeed if any one had a right to object that was myself for the heaviest burden fell on me. In order to carry it on successfully we must always keep a store of ground corn meal and rye on hands lest a freeze or a flood should stop our work, likewise a supply of cord wood. This was no small job so I was kept busy almost night and day for two successive winters; scarcely ever got a night to attend any of the amusements going on in the neighborhood nor a day to go to school. But the third winter I told father I must be spared from being so confined and I must get some schooling if ever I got any, as I was now twenty-three years old. So I went to Kentucky on a visit and went to school that winter about two months. This is the principal part of my schooling.

Just before I started to Kentucky there was a notice in the Chillicothe paper there would be a large tract of land on Paint Creek offered for sale. Father told me he would attend the sale

and bid if he thought best as I had not yet got a place to settle on. So father bid off a five hundred lot. All the purchasers agreed on a day to go to see the land and have it surveyed and divided. This land was attached and sold to satisfy a claim in behalf of some orphan children against Captain William George, a Revolutionary soldier. He was guardian for the children. The claim was put into the hands of Philemon Thomas an old Kentucky land jobber — one that father was acquainted with. They had served in an Indian campaign together. Well, we all set off to see the land. (They) took me and brother Ham. to carry chain and mark. This land lay on main Paint above the mouth of Rattlesnake. Here we encamped the first night. Father left us as soon as he could see to shoot, went up the bottom a little ways and shot a deer and came in and got a horse and took Dolittle, one of the purchasers, to help him bring in the deer. So he helped him on his shoulder with the deer, told him to go round the other side and catch hold when he threw it on the horse as the beast was a little shy. He gave it the toss on the horse and behold the young merchant got his fine clothes well sprinkled with blood. This was a sore defeat to the gentleman. He had a great time scraping and washing his coat but the old pioneers enjoyed it finely. We meandered the creek that day to the upper corner. There we camped the next night. Here I roasted a whole quarter before a large fire, basting it with pieces of bacon. Our old pioneers thought they never had a better barbecue in their lives.

We had now surveyed the south line and meandered the creek. Then we ran the north line, found the beginning corner and commenced laying off the lots. Now the contest began about the surplus land as the survey had made considerable overplus. Mr. Dolittle contested for a share of the overplus land but father wanted none but his five hundred as it was sold in this way and the last lot was bid off "five hundred more or less." So if they divided the surplus in every lot it would shift his lot farther south but he wanted his lot just where it fell at five hundred each and they might have the rest and divide it as they chose. So we commenced and laid out three lots and left the fourth as it was and this (was) a happy conclusion, for there was a clashing line

between George's and Mason's survey. When we got through Thomas proposed to sell father his first lot as he had bid off the second lot also and the fourth and last lot. He would not offer the fourth as he saw there were some interfering lines. So father made a bargain for the second lot to be paid the next winter. Now he had two lots of five hundred acres. Shortly after this two of his brothers from Kentucky came. So he sold the half of his second lot to Uncle Hamilton. Now he had two hundred and fifty for us boys. I went to Kentucky with them and spent the winter at school as I stated heretofore; this in the year 1804 and 05. I was now in my twenty-third year and (the) first time I had ever claimed my freedom. This year I worked on the farm till the crop was made and harvest was over. Then I went to see our land and concluded I would put up a cabin on it and get some (one) on the farm to improve it and then take a ramble as I had never seen anything but the woods and hard work.

Well, brother Ham and me turned in and built a house on our lots by Christmas and came home for the winter. We saw a great company camped on the bank on the other side and we noticed a number of young women. So I proposed to the young men (to go over) for there was several had come to see us as we had been absent all fall. Well, we went over to camp (and) we were much pleased with their appearance. They were all so clean and neat. On inquiry we found they were intending to go to Highland county. On being told I was just from that county, they asked if I knew of any houses for rent? I told them I had just built two cabins there and should not (need) them before spring. An old man on hearing this jumped up and replied, "I'm in for one of them." What would I charge for it? I told him he might have it till spring free and then I would give him a lease on the land if I needed the house and he could build one for himself. Well, how could he find it? I told him I would meet him at a certain place the next day and pilot him. Part of the company had agreed to go to old William Parker's (?) up in the Quaker settlement. Well, I met my old man the next day at William Smith's on Buckskin and conducted them to Jared Ervin's the nearest neighbor to my cabin. There we slept over

night. The next morning we cut a road for the wagon as there never was a wagon road to this place before. So we landed them in my cabin in the woods, a wild looking place. This was Saturday. I told him I would stay the next week and help him fix up the house as there was but half of it floored and the chimney only part built. As the old man was a regular carpenter we got along finely. On Monday we were going over to Mr. Ervin's to grind our tools (and) who should we meet but old man ———————— and his son George on hunt of our place as they had not found a house yet and heard me say we had two cabins, hoping to get one of them, and indeed there was no Sabbath up there and they could not think of settling where no regard was paid to the Sabbath. We told them to go on to the cabin and we would be home when we ground our tools. So when all got done I gave the tools to him to carry home and I got my gun, took across the creek to find a turkey roost. When I got to the creek it was dark and no moon but turkeys plenty. I concluded I would get right under them try (and) if I could see a black spot, shoot at the place. So I shot a number of times. At last down came one. I picked it up and plodded on home. They were all alarmed when they heard so much shooting (and) could not imagine what it meant but supposed I was attacked by a gang of wolves. The next morning I told the old man if he would go with me and do just as I direct, I would load him home with turkeys. Well, off we went a little before day. I saw the course they intended flying. I sent the old man in a circle ahead of them for he must keep in motion never stopping. The turkeys would not fly while he kept in motion so I could creep up behind a tree and shoot one. In this way we got them turned and confused by turning the foremost ones back till I killed four very fine ones. This made a load for us both. The old man was so pleased he could not quit talking about it. Now he had learned how to kill turkeys.

So the other families concluded to come and occupy my brother's cabin until they (could) suit themselves better. The old man Adear (?) and his son Philip got in my brother's house but the old father soon bought land just across the creek and moved to it and took a lease on my brother's land. And my man

took a lease also and we had a very excellent set of neighbors and lived in peace all our days. . . . . The next spring I married. Now I began to think very seriously about what I should do next year. I had thought of spending some time in traveling to see some of the world. And I must determine soon as my man in my house must know whether I would need the house in the spring or not. So I concluded I would go over and consult my intended and feel her pulse how it beat. Well, I found it all right with her. So I made a covenant with her that night that I never rued. I gave my man notice to go to work and build his house as I had determined (to) come and be their neighbor in March. So the next week I drove up some hogs, three sows and pigs to live on the acorns as they were abundant. Now I began to make arrangements for farming; horses and plows and household furniture must be had. But at this day we could do with very little and that the plainest kind.

Well, next question was "Who shall marry me?" Heretofore the magistrate done the marrying. Dr. Wilson had just come among us, but had not been licensed yet, and there would (be) no regular court soon enough for my case. What could be done? I was not willing to be married by a squire, and to call a court on purpose would cost at least ten dollars. So I proposed to see the judges, as they all lived near. They all agreed to meet at the court house (the) next Saturday and father (was) to meet them and all would be right. So they met and ordered the sheriff to call the court. They licensed Rev. Wilson with powers to marry. "What is the bill?" father inquired. "We will go to the hotel and we will tell you. A bottle or two of good Maderia will taste pretty well, don't you think?" This settled the bill. So the judges and their wives were invited to the wedding on the 6th of March. The 6th of March was the time agreed on for the wedding, and Rev. Robert Wilson (was) to solemnize the union and a great crowd it was as we both had a numerous connection. These with the judges' families, made a great company.

On the next week my cousin, Betsey Swart, and David Elliott were married, so we had two weeks of merry times.

Now, the next thing on hands was to gather up our effects

and move to our cabin in the woods, and make ready for a crop, and this in a heavy forest of timber, and now the 18th of March! "Well," thinks I, "it is root, pig, or starve. I have but two months till the corn must be planted." So I fell to work, as I had no other shift, and worked almost night and day, and on the 22nd of May I planted five acres of corn and made a pretty fair crop. Also (I planted) some potatoes and fruit trees. This was my first start in life for myself, but I was blessed with a good constitution and a will to work, so it did not go hard with me, for I was raised to hardships.

Now I had made a beginning, I must have a piece ready for wheat. So I put in all the time I had from tending my corn to clear a field for wheat. I got about six acres in wheat. And this was my plan: every spring and fall to add a field to the farm. So in a few years I began to have something to sell. My stock of horses mutiplied pretty fast, as I had three sorrel mares and one year-old colt to start with. So I had seven head to winter the first year. The second fall I hired a hand one month and cleared out a piece of bottom for meadow. From this time forth I could spare some produce to help me improve the farm. This is the way we managed to make a living in my young days.

I will now turn back to relate some things that took place in earlier days, which I have omitted, in regard to my fondness for hunting and a life in the woods. I was very fond of camp life, and whenever an opportunity offered I was always on hand. So there was an alarm came to the governor of a man found dead up on the North Fork of Paint Creek, supposed to be the work of the Indians, as he was tomahawked and scalped. The governor sent out word to Major Mahary to take some troops and go up and see the truth of the matter. Now this was a good opportunity for me to gratify my long cherished desire, so I was on hand. And when we got to the place we found Captain Herrod killed sure enough in the way and manner as reported. Next thing, what course shall we pursue to find the murderers? Well, a plan was given out for all who were ready and willing to take a trip to the Indian towns to signify by hitching their horses with Major Mahary's and General McArthur's. I was the only one that moved the horse to theirs. Some wanted

an election held for leader. So when nothing could be decided, all set off helter skelter, about one hundred and fifty in numbers, some young clerks of stores and many of them (with) neither blankets nor provisions. All drove on promiscuously till we came on an old he-bear in the barrens about where Bloomingburg is. Here we had a grand bear chase. Our dogs would stop him in a thicket and then he would break out again and run several miles. He got a great many shots, but none brought him down till he was pretty well run down. There was a man had a brace of horse pistols. He gave one to another man, and rode up close and fired and wounded him. The next rode up and shot him a deadly shot and the bear dropped on the spot and the horse was at such speed he jumped over the bear, but he made a grab and caught his foot and jerked him off the horse, but he rolled off out of reach of him in short order. I was close to him and jumped off to his assistance, but the bear was dead before I got to him. A man came riding up and hallooed to me. "Why don't you shoot him?" I replied, "I don't kill dead bears." He jerked the gun out of my hand and shot the bear in the head. I told him he had killed a dead bear, and I did not covet the honor. So "who killed the bear?" was the word through the company.

At the close of the frolic a number turned back, but no election had yet (been held). We went on to the cabin of good Joshua Clark, on the waters of Paint Creek, who had settled out there for the purpose of hunting and trapping. Here a number turned back. I carried the bear to his house and skinned it, as it was awarded to me as I had chased it the whole round. My dog was the only one that would seize it.

From this we went on to what was called the Willow Springs. Here we camped for the night. Now our young counter hoppers was in a bad fix, no blankets and very little to eat, and a dreadful night of rain. In the morning they were all dripping wet. This was the end of their bravery. Now the question is, "Who is for the forward march?" About ten responded. The rest took the back track. We learned by some travelers we met there was some Indians camped on Mad river. So we concluded to hunt them up and see if they knew. This

day we fell in with several Indians, but none could talk much English, but they would tell us Chief Roundhead was out on Mad river. So we went on to Mad river where Springfield now stands. Here we found two white men just settled in their cabins. One, a Mr. Foos, who was the proprietor of the town. At length here we learned that the Chief Roundhead was somewhere in that part hunting. So the next day a call was made for volunteers to go on the hunt of the chief. I turned out for one, with man of the place and two others of the company. In the evening we brought in the chief, and the next day he conducted us to another camp where James Logan was camped on the head waters of Rattlesnake. Logan could speak English. He was part white man. Here we held a council. They all declared their innocence and promised to investigate the matter, and if they found out the murderer, to bring him to justice. This we supposed would settle the matter, but while we were out an unhappy circumstance took place at home near where Captain Herrod was killed. A certain man by the name of Wolf, and three of the neighbors turned out to gather up their cattle to get their milk. They fell in with an honorable, innocent old Indian, who was camped for the purpose of hunting over on Rattlesnake. Not hearing anything of the murder of Herrod, (He) came over in a kindly manner to the settlement to get salt to save his meat, as the weather was warm. So he came up to those men in a friendly manner and asked what it meant, (that) all the people ran away. They told him how the Indians had come into the settlement and killed a man, and the people were all afraid to stay on their farms. The Indian replied, "Not Indian. Bad white man done it, not Indian." They parted by a friendly shake of the hand, but when the old chief got twenty or thirty yards off, Wolf shot him a death shot. But he turned, determined to sell his life as dear as possible, and tried to shoot Wolf, but he got behind his horse. So he raised his gun and shot Williams off his horse dead and then made at Wolf with his knife. In the scuffle Wolf fell to the ground and kicked him off his feet. The old brave found he was dying and made a lunge with his knife and left it in his thigh. Then staggered off a few yards and fell dead.

This broke up our treaty we had made with the two chiefs. Now the settlement was worse alarmed than ever. The governor ordered out a fresh guard over the settlement till they could finish planting corn. I turned out again and helped them about a week longer, as we had finished planting some time. This was in May, 1802 or 3. This old chief's name was Waywilewa, and was camped on Rattlesnake at the mouth of Pardon's Creek. (He) had two sons with him. When they heard of their father's fate they went to their towns and brought in some of their principal chiefs and demanded the man that murdered their father. But our governor and the council endeavored to buy them off but could not. So they returned home and brought old Tecumseh. He threatened to destroy the whole settlement if they did not satisfy the sons of their chief. So by a large present it was settled.

On this page I will give some incidents in regard to my hunting scenes and adventures. I believe I have stated in previous pages an account of the first deer I ever killed. This raised my opinion of myself as a hunter. I was very desirous for a chance at a bear. Well, as we had a couple of dogs said to be excellent bear dogs, I had frequent opportunity to go out with bear hunters to take the dogs, as good bear dogs were a very essential article in getting up with a bear. So I had several trips with hunters, but no success. At length a man by the name of George Vincent Heller came along and reported that he had found a place where there were some bears in a thicket, and wanted our dogs and some one to go with him. I was on hands at a word. I went oved to Uncle Ben's and got him and his two dogs. We were off by times in the morning to Heller's. That day when we got near the thicket we left uncle to take the horses around and Heller and me took through the thicket, and soon found fresh tracks. Our dogs raised the yelp and treed a fine bear. Heller got up first and shot him dead. The day was Christmas, 1802. This day we hunted hard till two or three o'clock. At last the dogs raised the yelp in a dense thicket. Now I was determined I would have the shot if possible, so kept close behind Heller and let him cut the briars and vines in the thicket. Now he was pretty well out of breath and I was fresh,

and we had a steep hill to climb. I got to the tree first and shot the bear. Oh, but the old hunter was spited! When uncle came up he says: "Don't you (think) the little rascal got the shot? I have been a hunter all my life and never was served so before." It seemed as if he could not get over it. "Why, the little fellow outrun me up the hill in spite of all I could do." This was the first successful bear hunt. We now had a load for two horses. So next morning we set out for home. I had the big one to carry on my horse and uncle the small one. When we got to Heller's he got the small one and uncle the big one, and we divided it at father's. This ended this bear hunt.

Sometime that same winter we heard by a traveler there were some bears up on main Paint Creek where the Miami Trace crossed Paint Creek. We told our neighbor, Major Mahary, about it. We gave Uncle Ben notice as he had two good dogs. We made up our company and put off to the place and camped just where the Rock Mill now stands, six miles above Greenfield. That evening all turned out, but found no sign of bears. That night there fell a great snow a foot deep. So this was a failure; the common fate of hunters. We all came home much disappointed.

My most successful career of hunting was night hunting on the water. I have killed as many as three, and once four, deer of a night on Paint, since I lived on the farm. The deer was very plenty when I first came to this place. I have shot many a deer not more than ten feet from the bow of the canoe.

When I settled on Paint Creek there was game in abundance, and especially deer and turkeys and some bears. One morning I went over to a neighbor's to get him to help me gather corn. I took my gun and gig along. As I was coming back my dog set off very fierce on the scent of something. In a short time I heard him bark very fierce. I rode up as fast as possible. I saw a fine bear on a tree, but as soon as he saw me he came down for battle, but my dog handled him so well he soon treed again and remained on the tree till I hitched my horse and took a fair shot at the white spot in his breast. I had heard old hunters say if they only wounded a bear it was very hard to tree them again and they would run and fight while

they could stand. So I was very lucky to kill him the first shot. I went home and got the horses and sled and hauled him home. He was about a two-year-old (and) weighed about two hundred (pounds). This was the second bear I killed.

The next one I shot I was not so fortunate for I gut shot him and my dog could not tree him. He would bite him behind and stop him (but) when I would come up he would break and run but would not tree. I followed on till I gave out. The dog stuck to him till (they) came to some men in the woods. They fell at him with their axes and the dog left and the bear got away. He was found by some hunters the next day but so spoiled being so shot that it was a lost case.

The next I found two young ones on a tree eating acorns. When I saw them I supposed their dam was somewhere near. I looked round for some time for her but I could see no sign of her so I shot one. It cried out and held on to the limb. I was sure now the old mother would be on me, so I loaded in haste you may be sure and made ready for the worst but (there was) no sign of her yet. So I shot the other a deadly shot. Now how could I get them home was the next question. As I was out after my horses I concluded I would go and get hold of my old mare and see what I could do with her for I knew if she saw them I could not get her near them. So I got leather wood bark, made a halter to catch the mare and likewise tied the cubs together and drew them up on a log that lay high enough to lead the beast under it so I could pull them off the log on the mare's back one on each side. The next question was "Can I get hold of the beast?" for I doubted if she smelled my hands she would be off. But I got hold of her and put on my bark halter. When I came near the place I took off my hunting shirt and blindfolded her with it and led her under the log and jerked them across her. She tore around awhile but I got her pacified and got my cubs home safe, and fine tender meat they were. They were about six months old and made about one hundred (pounds).

I was the most successful night hunter in killing deer of any that tried on Paint. I have killed as many as three and once, four, of a night and I very seldom missed a shot. As very few at this day understand how we managed to kill deer at night I

will give some account of the way we done it. We put a stand for a candle in the bow of the canoe high enough to take sight under it with a shade between me and the candle, also to shade the fore part of the canoe, so we could put the gun far enough forward for the light to shine upon the far sight of the gun. I have killed deer, I think, as far as forty yards but I never shoot when they are that far without I notice they are about to scare or smell us. Then I conclude it is the last chance for that one.

There was one old buck fooled me a long time. He got to know the light of the candle from a candle fly. I could tell his walk when ever I heard him in the water but he would always walk out on the bank before I could get near him to shoot. One night I got my brother James to come and work the canoe. We went one trip. I killed a very good buck but I told him this was not the big buck. It (was) too soon in the night for him. So we waited longer and made another round. We had not gone far till I heard him walking in the shallow water. I had instructed James to run the canoe as straight and fast as possible till I gave the sign to steady it so I could take good aim. He was in the water up to his belly. At length he raised his head and took a good look at us. I gave the sign. He steadied the canoe. I fired at I think at about forty or fifty yards. He made a bound. I knew he was shot but I told him I was afraid he was gut shot and if so I could tell when I saw the blood. So we went to where he got out and found dung among the blood and concluded it was not worth while to follow him to-night as he would run as well as if he was well for a while. So we took our dead one home and in the morning took the dog and set him on the track but it was so cold he could not follow where the blood stopped. We routed around for some time and at length he snuffed and held up his head. I let him go. He soon routed him in a thicket but he was very sick and soon turned to fight the dog. He would pitch the dog up on his horns. At last the dog got him by the nose and held him till I cut his throat with my butcher knife. He was the largest deer I ever killed. He had seven prongs to the horns. It was supposed he would weigh over two hundred (pounds).

I will now give some account of our first attempt to get the gospel introduced in our neighborhood. At this date 1808 or 9 young James Hoge was in the neighborhood attending to the sale of a large tract of land on Rattlesnake at the mouth of Fall Creek. So we invited him to appoint a day to preach for us. He told us if we would erect a stand at the big spring on his land he would preach there occasionally and perhaps it would be the means of organizing a church. So we gave notice to the neighbors and met and built a stand in the woods, no one nearer than two miles except Hoge. He and his colored man had built a cabin on Rattlesnake at the mouth of Fall Creek. Here was the first gospel sermon ever preached in Madison township and I believe this was the first church organized in Highland county. John Wilson gave it the name of Rocky Spring in memory of the church he left in Pennsylvania. Now the country settled rapidly. Hoge sold his lands generally to Presbyterians and in a few years we were strong enough to build a house. So a new place was chosen to build and we met (and) settled on the place where the present house now stands. The first was a log house forty by twenty-eight feet. The first minister was Rev. Nicholas Pittenger from Pennsylvania. He soon gathered a large congregation. Our first house was destroyed by fire. The next we built (of) brick; it is still standing but the congregation was so weak that we concluded to unite with the second church of Greenfield. The Rev. Brice is our pastor at present.

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Note: — In editing and preparing for the press the foregoing sketch the language and sentence structure of the original is retained as much as is necessary to give it the pioneer tone. To re-write it in conformity with correct grammatical rules would destroy much of its uniqueness.

Ohio University, Athens, O., Nov. 8, 1909.

# JOSEPH VANCE AND HIS TIMES.

BY BENJAMIN F. PRINCE,

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The men who made Ohio for its first fifty years were persons of remarkable character and quality. Four or five states gave choice selections for the settlement of that region. They proved themselves good and true for the work they had to do and brought honor and success to the interests committed to their care. Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia were the states from which the greater part came. Among them were some who had been active participants in the Revolution. They were trained in patriotic devotion to their country and were likely to plant colonies in which their own patriotic spirit would be fostered and perpetuated. Many of the younger men who came were surveyors who soon began to thread the forests with chain and compass, though beset with dangers from wild beasts and hostile Indians, and brought face to face with many dangerous exposures and privations. Others became teamsters among the settlements, bringing to the people the few desirable and needed supplies. The production and transportation of salt occupied the time of a number. There being no prepared roads and no bridges over streams, the lot of these serving men was beset with many hardships, but they shrank not from the heavy tasks that lay before them.

All these experiences were developing a sturdy and self-reliant manhood. The young men engaged in felling forests, building cabins, carrying on trade and marking out the lands were largely thrown upon their own resources and were learning to think and act for themselves. The affairs of state were also pressing upon them. Political life was taking form, and every serious and ambitious young man was caught in the whirl of politics. Any one showing more than ordinary qualities was

usually set forward in official position that he might take an active part in the affairs of state.

Most of those who became prominent were men of limited education. A few had received a collegiate training. Others had learned the rudiments of Latin, a slight acquaintance with grammar and history and enough of mathematics to make them competent to survey the lands now opening up to settlement.

Among the young men who came to Ohio in an early day was Joseph Vance. His ancestors located in the colony of Virginia at an early date, from which place, on account of their largely growing numbers, they spread Southward and Northward and Westward. They were of Scotch-Irish descent. The father of Joseph Vance was Joseph C. Vance. He was a member of Colonel Morgan's rifle regiment and served throughout the Revolutionary War. After peace was restored he removed to Western Pennsylvania, where his son, Joseph Vance, was born, March 21st, 1786. The place of his birth was Catfish, now Washington, Washington County.

Two years later Joseph C. Vance determined to cast in his lot with the people farther West. He placed on board a flat boat his family and little property and floated down the Ohio River, passed a year or more at Vanceburg, Kentucky, which he helped to defend against the attacks of Indians, and afterwards located near May's Lick in the same state. In 1801 this Vance family, in company with General Whiteman and others came to Ohio and settled near Clifton, but four years later removed to Urbana, a town then on the border of the settlements.

While living in Kentucky young Joseph Vance learned his first lesson in self-help. In those days the opportunity for obtaining the rudiments of an education were slight. The lack of schools and the pressure of stern necessity made other pursuits important. The extent of young Vance's education consisted in what he learned from his father and about six months' instruction from an itinerant Irish school-master. While yet a mere lad he was employed in cutting wood to be used in salt making. By saving he was able to get enough money to purchase an ox team and wagon, with which he peddled salt among the settlements. After he came to Ohio he still for a time engaged in

this business. The hardships attending it were many. He was often compelled to pass the night alone with his team in the dense forest, surrounded with howling wolves and other wild beasts, and in self-defense compelled to keep a large fire. Often swollen rivers impeded his progress for days, and swamps and marshes made it necessary at times for him to unload his salt and roll the barrels over as best he could and re-load them by his own efforts.

In 1805 the county of Champaign was erected. Its south line was fixed at a distance of several miles south of Springfield, including most of what is now Clark County. It extended on the North as far as Lake Erie. In 1809 the commissioners levied a tax of one thousand and eighty-nine dollars and one cent. One hundred and fifty dollars was used to redeem wolf and panther scalps, for which a reward was given for every one brought to the commissioners. Joseph Vance was the Secretary of this Board of Commissioners, and was serviceable in levying and collecting this tax. He received forty dollars per year for his services. He also received ten dollars for making a duplicate of the assessable property of the county and sending the same to Chillicothe, the State capital at that time. He thus early learned to take lessons in public duty in which he was in future to have so large a part.

In 1807 the murder of a white man near Urbana by a malicious Indian, as later investigation showed, caused a general alarm among the whites. In order to prepare themselves against any depredations from the Indians a military company was formed of which young Vance was made Captain. He was with a party that a little later built a block-house on the Great Miami River where Quincy, a village in Logan County, now stands. It was called Vance's block-house. It was used as a post of observation and a depot of supplies for the army of the North-west. Vance's company was called out a number of times just prior to the War of 1812 to resist threatened outbreaks of Indians. When the war broke out Urbana was still a border settlement, and became headquarters for the military operations of the North-west. Through that place Hull passed with his army on his route to Detroit. From it he was piloted to the Maumee by Joseph Vance and his brother. Here for a short time Gov-

ernor Shelby with his four thousand mounted Kentuckians encamped during their journey northward to join the army of General Harrison. Here supplies for the army were gathered and distributed, in which duty Vance had a share. Here were brought many wounded soldiers. To this place Colonel Richard M. Johnson, the reputed slayer of the celebrated Tecumseh, was brought to recover from his wounds before being carried to his home in Kentucky.

The part of Captain Vance in this war was to assist in guarding trains of quartermasters' supplies and to look after the defense of the borders against incursion from the Indians.

In 1812 Mr. Vance was elected to membership in the lower house of the State Legislature, in which position he served for two years. This election showed the confidence that the people of his district had in his faithfulness, integrity and ability. During the two sessions, which lasted a little more than two months each, new counties were formed, associate judges were appointed, and measures looking to the prosecution of the war were discussed and passed. Every able-bodied man of military age was required to respond to every call made for his services unless excused by the authorities. A record is made of one Jacob Woodring of Scioto County being excused only because his father was blind, lame, decrepit and absolutely helpless and had two children also blind. Jacob, being the sole dependence of the family, was allowed to remain at home. Great was the stress laid upon the people along the borders to protect their homes, their lives and their material interests from the threatened incursions of the fierce savages lurking along the lines of the outer settlements, ready to strike the blow that would send terror to every pioneer heart. There was need that every man should stand with gun in hand to ward it off. In all these events Vance was an interested actor.

In the session of 1815-1816 Mr. Vance was again a member of the lower house. During that session stringent laws were enacted to repress all kinds of games and gaming. Duelling and challenging another to fight a duel were made crimes to be punished by imprisonment in the penitentiary for a period of from

three to ten years. Ohio early took a stand against a condition of low morals and personal justice.

In the session of 1819-1820 Mr. Vance again appears in the Legislature. He and Reuben Wallace represented the counties of Champaign, Clark and Logan. It appears that these two persons with some other representatives were given certificates which did not state to which House they were elected. For a time it looked as though they would be denied admission, but finally it was decided that as the intent was to elect them to the Lower House they might take their seats.

The great question of the day was the one concerning the admission of Missouri. While it was a matter for Congress alone to decide, state Legislatures were deeply concerned in it. The Ohio Legislature was no exception. A resolution was introduced in the Senate to instruct the delegation from Ohio in Congress to vote against the further extension of slavery. A long and acrimonious discussion followed. William Henry Harrison advocated a middle ground, but a strong resolution against the institution was passed. Mr. Vance, though not inclined to take much part in debate, voted with those who advocated the limitation of slave territory.

Another question that evoked much interest at this session related to banks and banking. At the previous session of the Legislature it had been voted that every bank doing business in Ohio not authorized by it, should be assessed fifty thousand dollars. There were two branches of the United States Bank operating in the State without state charter, one at Cincinnati and the other at Chillicothe. The two United States banks resisted the collection of this tax and secured an injunction against it. Intense excitement prevailed in the Legislature and great stir among the courts concerning the rights of the State and of the General Government in the premises. During this session many of the old laws were revised and partially codified, and better preparation made for the care of the insane, the poor, and the helpless.

Such were some of the great questions with which the public men of that early day had to deal. They were learning in the school of practical life, being brought face to face with interests

that stirred both the state and the nation to their depths. A mind like that of Joseph Vance that could think, be moved, and be expanded by the consideration of great interests was becoming qualified for a larger field of activity. The people of his district saw this, so that in 1820 they nominated and elected him their representative to Congress and continued to do so for eight consecutive terms.

The records of Congress show that he appeared at the session commencing December the 3d, 1821, as one of the five members from Ohio. Neither of the other four ever became as noted in Ohio politics as Mr. Vance, yet he was no lawyer, but only a plain and unpretentious business man, performing his duties earnestly and conscientiously. By the census of 1820 the Ohio delegation, by reason of the rapid growth of population, was increased in 1822, to thirteen, three of whom, including Joseph Vance, became Governors of Ohio. The other two were Mordecai Bartley and Duncan McArthur. Of the others, Samuel F. Hunter and John Sloane were noted men in their day.

In the second session of the Sixteenth Congress a question of much interest to Ohio came before it. It was a bill for constructing a road from the rapids of the Maumee through the Black Swamp eastward to the boundary of the Western Reserve. The road was to be one hundred and twenty feet in width, and the General Government was asked to appropriate a strip of land on each side, one mile in width, to pay for its construction. When information was called for as to the need and purpose of said road, Mr. Vance became the spokesman for the bill. He knew the character of the land, for he had frequently crossed it, and was well acquainted with the difficulties that confronted those who carried supplies for the army during the late war. He explained that the Black Swamp was about thirty miles in width and from the Rapids ran South and South-east, and was impassable to travel with teams for the greater part of the year. Also he said, there was no direct communication between Ohio and Michigan Territory possible and that the way over Lake Erie was not always convenient nor satisfactory. Individual industry, he said, could not build it, and that the land sought to be appropriated with much more would be of no value to the Gov-

ernment unless such road would be built. Mr. Vance called attention to the great loss of time and the extra expense incurred in the late war by lack of such road, and that in case of a future war the cause of the General Government would be greatly benefited. The bill was laid over for further information. In January, 1823, on motion of Mr. Vance it was again taken up. He more fully explained the need and value of such a road. It would take, he said, fifty-seven thousand acres of land worth much less than the ordinary price of Government land, but by giving it for the purpose desired the value of all lands in the vicinity of the road would be enhanced. The object of the bill was so well sustained by its chief advocate that it carried by an almost unanimous vote.

In May, 1824, another important bill touching the district represented by Mr. Vance was on his motion brought before the House. When Virginia in 1784 ceded her lands in the Northwest Territory to the Confederation she reserved the tract lying between the Scioto and Little Miami Rivers to be distributed by warrants to her soldiers who served under the authority of that State during the Revolution. At the time of drawing the ordinance no one present was acquainted with the relation of the two rivers as to their sources. As these military lands began to be taken up it became necessary to run a line connecting their sources. The first surveyor appointed for this purpose, Mr. Israel Ludlow, in 1802 traced the Little Miami to its source and from that point ran a line toward the supposed source of the Scioto. This line bears north twenty degrees west. When Mr. Ludlow reached the Greenville treaty line which passed South of the head-waters of the Scioto he was stopped by the Indians who objected to any encroachment on their lands. It was also discovered that if the Ludlow line were extended it would fall some miles East of the source of the Scioto. Some years later another surveyor was secured to run the line correctly between the sources of the two rivers. His name was Roberts, and his line was known as the Roberts line.

This introduced another difficulty. The land west of the Ludlow line had already been surveyed as Congressional land and some of it purchased and occupied by settlers. But the Virgin-

ians who found that their reservation was not sufficiently large to satisfy all the claims for lands due to their soldiers, persisted in including the wedge tract between the Ludlow and Roberts lines, and issued warrants upon it. Claims for the same portion of land soon brought trouble. One of these overlapping claims was carried to the Supreme Court of the United States and decided in favor of the Virginia claimant, thus fixing the Roberts line as the true one.

In 1824 Mr. Vance introduced a bill to make such arrangements as to the claims of those who had purchased lands supposed to be Congress lands, as would be just and satisfactory. Twice the bill had passed the House but for want of time had failed to pass in the Senate. But Mr. Vance kept it alive by re-introducing it and urging its importance, until finally in 1827 it passed both Houses and became a law. His efforts to secure its adoption was made more difficult by the opposition of some members of the Ohio delegation. While the Supreme Court made its decision on the theory that the Roberts line was the true one, a compromise was afterwards effected to the satisfaction of the Virginia claimants, by which the Ludlow line was fixed as the legal limit of the Virginia military lands.

How to reach the West and attach it to the States east of the Mountains was a matter of concern to Washington and the leading men of his day. When the purchase of the Louisiana Territory was made it became a matter of greater interest how to control and cement that vast territory to the Union. To accomplish something for this purpose, in 1806 the agitation for a national road was begun in Congress and continued from year to year. By 1811 the work of building such road was commenced and in a few years finished as far west as Wheeling. But the annual expense for repairs was heavy, and doubt as to the right of Congress to appropriate money for this purpose on the part of many of its members delayed for a time the further extension of the road. It was, however, a perennial subject. The road was built through the greater part of Ohio, but in 1838, with the prospect of railroads taking the place of common roads for the transportation of traffic, further expense for this object

seemed unnecessary, and Congress voted to turn all her rights and interests in the Cumberland Road over to the various States through which it ran. As a true and loyal son of the West, the votes of Mr. Vance were always favorable to the appropriation of funds for the furtherance of the National Road. He belonged to the party of broad constructionists and believed that the General Government should help the people to those things that would advance their prosperity.

In 1828 Mr. Vance was a member of the Board of Visitors to the Military Academy at West Point, and served as its Chairman. When the report of the visitors was presented a prolonged discussion ensued. It was charged that the Committee was useless, that it was made up usually of men of little education and could not present a report in proper form, and whatever report they did bring before the House was usually written out for the committee by those in charge of the Institution. This charge Mr. Vance indignantly resented. The committee, he said, was made up of both scientific and practical men, and that those who were possessed of scientific and literary attainments were selected to draw up the report. As for himself he believed he could say that he was one of the most unpretending members of the House, that all knew by what means he secured the little education he possessed, and that he was as sensible as any member of the House of his inability to prepare the report that had been submitted, but the charge that it was not prepared by the committee itself was a base calumny. This incident shows clearly the modest, unpretentious, and honest character of Representative Vance.

The need of communication between the different parts of the country by which articles of commerce might find their best market, and also bind together the different sections of the land by a community of interests, led to an early discussion of a system of canals. It was the dream of Washington that the mountains might be crossed with waterways on which would be carried the traffic of the country. As early as 1810, by reason of overtures from New York, Congress began the discussion of the subject. It was proposed that a canal should be built from the Hudson River to Lake Erie, in the expense of which the Gen-

eral Government should join. But Congress hesitated, and New York built the canal at its own expense. It soon proved its value, not only to New York, but to all the states that bordered on the Lakes.

It was said in 1823 that it cost three dollars to transport by team and wagon a cord of wood twenty miles, and five dollars to carry a barrel of flour one hundred and fifty miles. To reduce greatly such cost was to be the advantage of the canal. The Ohio Legislature in 1812 passed a resolution to the effect that a canal connecting the Great Lakes with the Hudson was a project of national concern and that the United States should defray the cost. This State was invited later to help build the Erie Canal, and at one time voted to do so, but later changed its vote, feeling that it should apply its funds to building its own canals.

In 1825 it decided to enter upon their construction, and appointed a commission to carry forward the work. Several routes were planned and Governor Clinton, of New York, was invited to visit the State and help inaugurate and open the system. On the 4th of July of that year, ground was broken at Licking Summit, near Newark, with appropriate ceremonies. The commissioners, the Governor of the State and invited guests then passed on in triumphal procession through Franklin, Madison, Clark and Montgomery Counties to Middletown, where, on July the 21st, the first dirt was thrown for the Miami Canal. By this time the whole State of Ohio was thoroughly aroused and many new industries were planned along the lines of the proposed canals.

In 1828 several bills were introduced into Congress appropriating government lands for building Ohio canals. One, asking for a grant of five hundred thousand acres, was passed and other grants were made afterwards. But these grants were not made, however, without extended debate. Mr. Vance took a very active part in pressing these bills. He was keenly sensible of the great value the canals would be to the people of his State. If transportation of products was good, he reasoned that many persons would be attracted to Ohio and help build up its material interests. He showed that Ohio, through the sale of its public lands, had contributed a large sum of money to the Treas-

ury of the United States, and further that the bill did not ask for money already in the hands of the Treasurer, but to give every other section along the route of the Miami and Erie Canal, where not yet sold, for the construction of the same. In that case, he said, the remaining lands would be doubled in value, be sold rapidly, be speedily put into the hands of the people and give the nation the money desired. His arguments were favorably received and the measure passed.

While in Congress Mr. Vance favored many bills looking to the improvement of the West. He voted for the Erie and Wabash Canal, the Michigan and Illinois Canal, the extension of the National Road, and for other bills which he believed were for the advancement of the country. He favored the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal and the Panama Congress. He attached himself to the National Republican Party, now beginning to take shape as the Whig Party,—a zealous advocate of the policies of Henry Clay. The records of the House show that he voted for the tariffs of 1824 and 1828. He lived in a sheep-raising State. There were owners there of large flocks of sheep, and he believed that they would be greatly benefited by a high tariff on wool. Mr. Vance was firmly allied with the party favorable to protection.

There had been two methods used in supplying the army. The first was to place this privilege in the hands of civilians, the second to entrust it to army officers. The latter method had lately come into use. In 1834 a bill was brought before the House to render permanent the latter mode. Mr. Vance took much interest in this bill. He made it a subject of investigation and study. He showed that in former times when contractors furnished supplies there were enormous defalcations, asserting that under the old system there had been a waste of twelve per cent, while under the new it was less than one per cent. He declared that the "Black Book," in which were listed the defaulters, showed a loss to the government of fifteen million dollars, while under the late plan there was no loss. Thus in the practical operations with which government must so largely deal, Mr. Vance showed himself thoroughly prepared and ready to advocate what seemed to him appropriate legislation.

Commencing with 1832 numerous petitions from various sections of the North were presented to Congress for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. At first these petitions were referred to the committee on that District, where they were lost to the world by never being reported back for action. In 1835 a petition signed by eight hundred ladies from New York was presented by Mr. Dickson, who followed the presentation with a long speech against slavery. At its close he moved that the petition be referred to a select committee. His motion was promptly followed by another to lay the whole matter on the table, thus denying the right of the petitioners to be heard on the case. Vance voted on the negative side of this last proposition, thereby allying himself with John Quincy Adams in his great fight for the right of petition.

At the Whig Convention in Ohio in 1836, Joseph Vance was nominated the candidate of his party for the Governorship of the State. After the usual visitations and speech-making in accord with the political methods of the day, the election in October brought victory to the Whigs, and the second defeat of the Jeffersonian party since the organization of the State. Mr. Vance was inaugurated on the 13th of December following.

His inaugural address was a plain, unpretentious, yet sensible document. He was aware of his own limitations. He modestly says of himself: — "Gentlemen, the very thought of exercising this power causes one almost to shrink back and withdraw from the station I am about to assume. I know my own weakness and fear that I shall lack that nerve and energy that will enable me to resist the strong supplications that will be made in favor of the culprit. The security of property and the peace of society rest upon the inflexibility and sternness of your executive officer, and in the certainty that the penalties of the law will be enforced and carried into execution." This was said because in that day the pardoning power rested alone with the Governor, who might under pressure release prisoners from their cells and crime thus go unpunished and justice unsatisfied.

At the time of Governor Vance's inauguration Congress had voted to distribute the surplus revenue in the Treasury of the United States among the several States. Ohio was to receive a

little over two millions of dollars. The deposit was accepted by the Legislature of Ohio, December 19, 1836. There was much discussion throughout the State as to what should be done with the money. Schemes, some good, some wild, were proposed. The Governor therefore warns against a misuse of it and pleads that it may be used for furthering the schools of the State. He says, "Remember, that you are now about to become their (the poor and destitute) trustees and guardians, and that a heavy responsibility rests upon you to make such appropriation of their means as will enable them to become worthy members of society and enlightened and useful citizens of the State. This can be done by building up our common schools, and when we reflect that the very foundations of our political system rest upon the virtue and intelligence of our people and, that the interest at stake is no less than the perpetuation of our free institutions, you cannot falter in your exertions to accomplish the great object in view. . . . . No person can appreciate more sensibly than myself the want of an early education; even in the place in which I now stand it is felt with a pungency and force more easily understood than explained." His plea was to build up an endowment fund for the schools so that all might receive the benefit of school opportunities. For a short time this gift of the government was deposited with the counties, who were to pay the interest on it into the local school fund. Later the principal was gathered into the hands of the State and used to pay the internal improvement debt, but the annual interest on this sum to be paid by the State into the general school fund, which has been done ever since. In harmony with the ideas of Governor Vance, a state superintendent of schools was appointed, Samuel Lewis, who did excellent work during the three years he remained in the office.

In the first message of Governor Vance, December 5, 1837, he is still insistent on the value of the public schools. In it he says, "One of the first objects that should attract the attention of every statesman is the habits, condition, and future prospects of the youth of the State. Through them we may reach the future destiny of the Republic, for good or for evil. If we suffer them to grow up in idleness and ignorance we must look

to the future with forebodings of the misery and degradation that await our descendants, while, on the other hand, if we give them industrious habits, guard well their morals, and improve their minds, we may fondly anticipate that our institutions will be perpetuated and our descendants grow up and continue in the enjoyment of freedom, independence, and prosperity." Common schools, well systematized, he says, are the means by which this desirable condition is to be attained.

Governor Vance then quotes a section from an act passed by Congress in 1790. "And it is further enacted that the proceeds of the sales which shall be made of lands in the Western Territory, now belonging, or that may hereafter belong, to the United States, shall be, and are hereby appropriated towards sinking or discharging the debts for the payment whereof the United States now are, or by virtue of this act may be holden, and shall be applied solely to that use until the said debts shall be fully satisfied."

In 1837 such debts on the part of the United States had been fully paid. What disposition should be made of the funds arising from future sale of lands? The General Government had by its distribution of the surplus among the States opened the way for discussion of the question. It occurred to Governor Vance, influenced by the report of Samuel Lewis, State Superintendent of Schools, that it would be a wise thing for the Government to turn over to the several States the money arising from public land sales to the support of the schools. The report of Mr. Lewis showed their backward condition, and the impossibility of improving them in sparsely settled districts. A permanent fund it was believed would do this, and no better disposition could be made of money arising from the disposal of public lands than to create a large school fund.

Governor Vance also had views on the financial situation. The monetary disturbance during the administration of President Jackson had been great. His war against the United States Bank, the rapid increase of State banks, and the issue of the specie circular, which at a single blow discredited the issue of every bank in the several States, brought disaster upon the country. If specie now alone was to do the business of the

country there would not be money enough as a vehicle of trade. Prices must remain low, the debtor be crowded to the wall, and general distress result. In 1837 the contraction of credit money amounted to sixty-two per cent. Some banks weathered the storm and showed the soundness of their methods and indicated that credit money wisely administered could be a safe financial policy. In the rather lengthy discussion of the financial condition of the country, Governor Vance says:

"Let us examine and see what would be the operation of such a hazardous experiment as that of reducing the circulation of the country to specie alone. Every man conversant with the laws of trade and the effects of currency must admit that all articles of merchandise and all descriptions of property must fall in proportion to the reduction of circulation. This, to be sure, is not always its immediate effect, but that it must, in the end, approximate to that standard, is not to be questioned. But its operation will not end here — it will raise the value of debts in a ratio still more oppressive. Suppose the banks of Ohio were compelled to wind up their business, as they must certainly do under this exclusive metallic currency, and that after calling in their circulation there should remain due to them ten millions of dollars. The result would be that it would take what is now worth forty millions in landed estate to settle this debt. We may theorize as we please, but all revulsions in trade, when heavy balances remain unsettled, and especially in agricultural States, must in the end be liquidated and paid by a change of property from one hand to another. This will prove equally true in winding up the affairs of any other prominent branch of business as well as that of banking."

In arguing for the benefits of credit the Governor says, "Credit has bought our lands, made our canals, improved our rivers, opened our roads, built our cities, cleared our fields, founded our churches, erected our colleges and schools, and put us into the possession of as large a share of rational freedom and solid comfort as has ever fallen to the lot of any people."

On the need of a flexible currency the Governor voices a sentiment equally true in our day. "All must agree that both our commercial and agricultural wants require a circulation

capable of expansion today and contraction tomorrow. The superabundance of our productions in Ohio may this year require five or ten millions of dollars more to put them into market than may be necessary in the next, and one of our sister States may fall short to the same amount, and this state of things may be reversed at the close of each succeeding crop. The capacity of our financial system for the transferring of funds from one portion of the Union to another, to meet these fluctuations, is, in my opinion, the only sure remedy."

Governor Vance, however, was no advocate of the State Bank system. Such banks had been tried during the War of 1812. They had issued a large amount of currency during a clamor for money, but it was not properly adjusted and regulated. Of these conditions the Governor says, "Our people had hanging over them in addition to their mercantile debts a land debt of millions of dollars. What was then called currency was shaved at from twelve to thirty-seven and one-half per cent to pay our mercantile engagements, and a portion of the time it would not pay for our lands at all."

The message then shows how the re-chartering of the United States Bank in 1816 at once restored confidence. The General Government announced that it would receive in payment for public lands, credit notes of all banks that paid out specie. This acted as a premium on honest banking and produced a better financial condition throughout the country.

But when in 1833 this same bank was assailed and its soundness and integrity questioned a blow was struck at the entire credit system of the country. In a few years the whole commercial fabric was overthrown and the business interests of the country paralyzed. For this reason Governor Vance discussed the financial condition of the nation at great length. He was anxious to see a resumption of specie payments. To bring this about there must be awakened a feeling of confidence in our monetary institutions. He says, "Confidence will bring into our business operations the horded coin of the country. A depreciated currency is the natural enemy of coin, coin will shun its company and hide itself to keep clear of its contaminating in-

fluence and will not again appear in your streets, or your market places, until the disorder is removed."

Governor Vance was likewise in favor of a law fixing a rate of interest. He did not believe that money could be treated as other property. "Money is seductive in its character — it controls property — it ministers to our wants, and gives us an elevation in society exceedingly flattering to our vanity. These inducements make men risk much to attain its use, and as one principal object of legislation is to protect the unsuspecting against the wily and the artful, it is therefore most respectfully recommended to your consideration the propriety of passing a law to regulate interest and prevent usury, as well against incorporated companies as against individuals, with such guards and penalties as your wisdom may think right."

The subject of internal improvement has a prominent place in the message. While in Congress Mr. Vance used every lawful means to further the building of canals. Now as Governor of the State of Ohio, with its canals yet unfinished and their completion delayed partly for want of funds and partly because of differences of views respecting what the State ought to do in the matter, it was natural that he should urge the speedy completion of these highways of commerce so necessary for the producer to carry his wares to the market. The Whigs were especially favorable to this project and Governor Vance stood squarely on their platform, and it was but natural that he should urge the work on the attention of the Legislative Assembly.

Governor Vance next notices the subject of mineral coal. Some of the canal lines passed through districts rich with this article. The value of coal in furnishing steam power in England is adverted to. The prospect of its use in this country would depend on the cheapness of its transportation. Figures are given of the amount of coal received at Cleveland in the years 1836 and 1837. They are stated in bushels and not in tons. One moderately sized factory of today would consume the entire output registered and be compelled to stop its wheels for the greater part of the year for lack of fuel. Those were days of small things, but prophetic of the great days to come. We must give praise to the men of seventy years ago for discerning so clearly

the sources of a nation's prosperity and wealth and so earnestly advocating the methods and activities that would lead to a glorious future.

In our day corporations are thought to be a menace to our interests and that they ought to be curbed by the force of law. In 1837 the same danger on their part of invading public and private rights seemed imminent. The Governor says, "The great amount of local legislation and the bestowment of corporate privileges is believed to be a growing evil in the State. Experience ought to teach us how cautious we should be in lending the name and influence of State authority to the association of individuals. How many charters obtained for purposes purporting on their face to be for humane and benevolent objects have been perverted from their original to other objects. The faith of the State cannot be broken, privileges given which have induced the investment of the property or money must be held sacred. I therefore see no other way of arresting the evil that may arise from hasty legislation, but that of retaining in your own hands the right of appeal."

In his second message in 1838 the financial question is again the great burden of the document. The United States Bank had wound up its affairs with loss of capital. The Whigs favored a re-charter, the Democrats opposed. How should credit money be controlled? By the States or by the Nation? Governor Vance says, "The very proposition to surrender to twenty-six State Sovereignties the regulation of the currency of the Union carries on its face anarchy, inequality, fluctuation and confusion. . . . . For it is a well-known fact that the paper of our present banks has not the same credit in all parts of our own State, and whilst the banks of Columbus ask a premium for drafts on Cincinnati or Chillicothe, the banks of Cincinnati will ask the same premium in return, thus shaving the circulation at both ends of the line. It is also well known that the paper of our Northern banks is rejected by some of the Southern banks, and is at this moment at a discount of one and one-half per cent in Cincinnati."

While there was this difference in the values of paper money issued by the various local banks within the State, it was much

greater respecting that issued in different States, and the opportunity for money changers to reap a rich reward was vastly increased. These conditions made Governor Vance an advocate of a national banking system which would to a large degree fix the status of legislative action on the money problem. This second message says, "There is nothing within the scope of your legislative duties that requires a more careful examination than the defects in our financial system." All this sounds strange to us now. Our State has nothing to do with a financial system; that is furnished us by the General Government and as a result money wherever issued is at par the land over.

The message deals also with the subjects of taxation and the canals. Concerning the former Governor Vance had made much investigation by writing to the Governors of the various States. He found that while in some States the rate of taxation was from six to fifteen cents on every hundred dollars, in Ohio it was one dollar and forty cents. But owing to the low valuation of property in this State the rate would not be more than thirty-five cents on a full valuation. The information contained in the message was of immense value to the Legislature. It showed also the thorough manner in which the Chief Executive was studying the financial question for the benefit of the State.

He gave much space in the message to the consideration of the canals. The work of their construction had been much delayed by an unusual amount of sickness among the workmen. The opening of the ground along rivers, through swamps and unbroken forests produced a condition favorable to all kinds of malarious diseases, and the men exposed to changes of weather, with little shelter and sleeping often upon the ground, were easy subjects for attack. But the people were clamorous for the completion of the work. In this way they saw lodged their hope of future wealth and commercial interests. In Governor Vance they found a leader ready to wrestle with the great proposition. Funds by loans to the extent of hundreds of thousands of dollars had to be secured on as favorable terms as possible and a wise expenditure of the money had to be faithfully guarded, in all of which transactions the Governor was an important factor.

During his term of office he was called upon to exercise a power demanded of him by the Constitution of the United States. He says, "On the 6th of September I issued a warrant under the requisition of the Governor of the Commonwealth of Kentucky for the arrest and delivery to the authorities of that State, of John B. Mahan, of Brown County, charged with two indictments found in the County of Mason, in that Commonwealth, with the crime of aiding and assisting certain slaves, the property of William Greathouse, to make their escape from the possession of him the said William Greathouse out of and beyond the State of Kentucky." Governor Vance was much criticised for the delivery of Mahan into the hands of the Kentucky courts. The sectional bitterness arising on account of slavery and the abduction of slaves was yet somewhat in its infancy, but each act which involved the return of a slave or surrender of his abettor stirred many people of the free States to sharp criticism of those in authority who had part in the matter. While the sympathy of the Governor was favorable to the slave, his sense of duty toward the constitution and the laws of the United States was first in his mind. He defended his action in the following language: — "I hold that the constitution of the United States is to be obeyed by all, as the supreme law of the land, and that it would be as unwarrantable an act in an executive officer to refuse to deliver up a person charged with the crime of enticing a slave from the service of his master, upon the presentation of proper papers, under the demand of a Governor of a sister State, as it is to deny the right of petition and the freedom of speech and the press to the humblest individual in the United States. All are constitutional rights guaranteed by the same instrument, and of equal obligation. And as I am sustaining that instrument as it is — I have not considered it my duty to set up my opinions of abstract right in disregard of its solemn and positive injunctions. I consider the constitution of the United States as the ark of our political safety, and whenever we shall reject its commands all is put at hazard and uncertainty, and our whole population subjected to convulsions, anarchy and civil war."

At the end of his term of office in December, 1838, Governor Vance retired to his farm two miles north of Urbana. In

1839 he was elected a member of the State Senate and served one term.

In 1842 he was again elected a member of Congress. The records show that he was one of the most active members of that body. He was made chairman of the Committee on Claims to the duties of which he gave his undivided attention. No claim unless well founded could pass his scrutiny, and many were the applications reported unfavorably by his committee. During his term the annexation of Texas was constantly in one form and another before the House and the opportunity to vote on some phase of the bill occurred frequently. Mr. Vance was firmly committed against annexation, as every vote recorded shows. He saw nothing but trouble arising from it, and the advance of the slave power to a greater share in the control of the government.

At the end of his Congressional term Mr. Vance again returned to his farm. At the organization of the Mad River and Lake Erie Railroad, the first to be built in the State, he was made its President, in to which office he put the same energy as in other positions which he had filled.

He was a member of the Ohio Constitutional Convention of 1850-1851. While returning home from his labors there he was stricken with paralysis from which he died August 24, 1852. His body lies in an honored grave in Oakdale Cemetery, Urbana, Ohio.

Governor Vance was an honest, industrious, and useful man, performing every duty with a fidelity that always brings success. He was adapted to his times, and in his day left an impress on the young State of which early in life he became a citizen.

## TWENTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OHIO STATE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

May 13, 1910.

The twenty-fifth annual meeting of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society was held in the Hunter Society Room, Page Hall, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, at 2:30 P. M., Friday, May 13, 1910. The following members were present:

Prof. Martin R. Andrews, Marietta.
Mr. George F. Bareis, Canal Winchester.
Mr. A. J. Baughman, Mansfield.
Mr. T. B. Bowers, Columbus.
Mr. H. E. Buck, Delaware.
Hon. C. S. Dana, Marietta.
Hon. C. H. Gallup, Norwalk.
Hon. John W. Harper, Cincinnati.
Prof. Archer B. Hulbert, Marietta.
Mr. W. E. Kershner, Columbus.
Rev. I. F. King, Columbus.
Rev. N. B. C. Love, Perrysburg.
Prof. C. L. Martzolff, Athens.
Prof. W. C. Mills, Columbus.
Prof. B. F. Prince, Springfield.
Mr. E. O. Randall, Columbus
Mr. J. S. Roof, Ashville.
Hon. D. J. Ryan, Columbus.
Hon. Lewis P. Schaus, Newark.
Dr. H. A. Thompson, Dayton.
Miss Harriet N. Townshend, Columbus.
Mr. Edwin F. Wood, Columbus.
Prof. G. Frederick Wright, Oberlin.
Dr. H. O. Whittaker, New Burlington.

Messages of regret, because of their inability to attend the meeting, were received from Gen. R. Brinkerhoff, Martin B. Bushnell, E. R. Monfort, M. D. Follett and J. H. Beal.

The meeting was called to order by President G. Frederick Wright, who without any preliminary remarks, stated the meeting would proceed at once to the order of business, and called for the reading of the minutes of the last annual meeting.

Secretary Randall stated he would follow the usual custom in this matter, which was, that the Secretary instead of attempting to read the entire minutes of the last annual meeting, held March 9, 1909, which minutes were taken down in detail by the stenographer and bound in the minutes of the proceedings of the Society, would offer as the minutes of the meeting, the published condensed account appearing in the 18th volume, page 227, of the last Annual of the Society. The complete verbatim report of the minutes of the last meeting as taken down occupy some 49 pages of the report, and would require nearly an hour in reading. The condensed report is in the hands of every member of the Society, and contains all that is important occurring at the meeting. It was moved, seconded and carried, that the printed report, as suggested by the Secretary, be accepted as the minutes of the meeting. There being no objection, this was adopted.

The Secretary stated further, that it had been his custom since holding office, to have every thing transpiring not only at the Annual Meeting, but the meetings of the Executive and Special committees, reported in full in typewritten form and bound in the annual volume. There are now sixteen of such volumes, covering the entire period of Mr. Randall's secretaryship.

Before reading his annual report, Secretary Randall explained why there had been so few meetings of the Executive Committee since the last Annual Meeting. During the months of the summer and fall of 1909, there was nothing unusual doing — except the acquisition of Spiegel Grove, but what could be cared for by the Standing Committees and the regular officers of the Society. There was, therefore, no need of going to the expense of calling together the Executive Committee. The appropriations for 1909, which extended to the 15th of February, 1910, were exhausted as to the publication fund and the field work and museum fund, practically by January 1, 1910. There

was no money to expend after that date, until further appropriations were received. The partial appropriation bill is usually passed early in January, but this year it was not passed until in April; hence, the Society had no funds until that date, except such as were left over in the current expense fund. Therefore, there was no need of an Executive Committee meeting, until it could be known what the Legislature would do for the Society and until the amounts appropriated were available.

The Secretary then made his annual report, which is as follows:

## REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

### MEETINGS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Meetings of the Executive Committee were held, since the last Annual Meeting of the Society, March 2, 1909, as follows:

March 6, 1909. Present: Messrs. Bareis, Harper, Martzolff, Mills, Randall, Ryan, Wood and Wright. At this meeting the committee appointed by the Executive Committee on December 2, 1908, made a visit to Spiegel Grove on February 26th and 27th. At this visit of the committee, Colonel Hayes tendered a proposed deed of the Spiegel Grove property to Mr. Randall. The Executive Committee decided to accept the property, with the conditions going therewith subject to the acceptance and approval of the Attorney General of Ohio. The salaries of the officers receiving compensation were made the same as the previous year.

Standing Committees for the ensuing year were chosen as follows:

Fort Ancient — Messrs. Prince, Harper and Martzolff.

Museum and Library — Messrs. Ryan, Wright and Mills.

Finance Committee — Messrs. Wood, Ryan and Bareis.

Publications — Messrs. Ryan, Randall and Wood.

Serpent Mound — Messrs. Randall, Harper and Gallup.

Big Bottom Park — Messrs. Martzolff, Prince and Bareis.

June 30, 1909. Present: Messrs. Bareis, Baughman, Harper, Gallup, Mills, Prince, Randall, Ryan, Wood and Wright. At this meeting it was reported that on March 31st the deed agreed upon for Spiegel Grove was delivered by Colonel Hayes to Mr. Randall transferring the property to the Society. On April 6, Prof. Lazenby, at the request of Secretary Randall, visited Spiegel Grove to plan for the laying out and planting of trees and labelling of those already grown. Col. Hayes was appointed superintendent of the Harrison Trail property. A permanent committee on Spiegel Grove was appointed as follows: Messrs. Gallup, Ryan, Wood and Randall.

November 12, 1909. Present: Messrs. Bareis, Baughman, Harper, Martzolff, Mills, Prince, Randall, Ryan, Wood and Wright. The making of the financial budget for 1910 was left to the Finance Committee and the Secretary. At this meeting a full statement of what had transpired during the interim since the last annual meeting was made by the Secretary.

April 21, 1910. Present: Messrs. Bareis, Baughman, Gallup, Harper, Martzolff, Mills, Prince, Randall, Wood and Wright. The Secretary explained why there had been no Executive Committee meeting since November 12, 1909. The budget asked for by the Finance Committee had been as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Current Expenses | $2,700 |
| Field work, Fort Ancient, etc. | 2,500 |
| Publications | 3,300 |

Early in January the House Finance Committee gave the Secretary a hearing on these appropriations. The result of the action of the Finance Committee of the House was that they allowed the Society the full amounts asked for in each item. This is the first time in the history of the Society that it has received all it requested. In addition to these amounts, the Finance Committee of the House, of its own volition, inserted the item of $6,000 for reprinting volumes one to eighteen, inclusive, of the Society's publications, for the benefit of the members of the legislature. This bill passed the House and later the Senate. At this committee meeting the matter of separate publications, in book form, of the Zeisberger Manuscripts, was left to the Publication Committee.

PUBLICATIONS.

In January, 1910, the Quarterlies for the year 1909 were published in book form, making a volume of six hundred pages; the largest and without doubt the most valuable annual volume yet issued by the Society. These volumes have been sent rather freely to members of the Legislature, and at their request to parties who had received the previous volumes and desired this eighteenth to complete their sets. This is also true of volumes sixteen and seventeen, particularly seventeen, as the last series published by the Legislature contained but sixteen volumes, and there has been a great demand for the last two volumes.

The Quarterlies for January and April, 1910, were published in a single issue early in April, making a single monograph of some two hundred pages, consisting exclusively of the Moravian manuscripts, containing Zeisberger's history of the Ohio Indians. This publication, three thousand copies of which have been put through the press, is undoubtedly the most valuable publication yet issued by the Society, for it is history at first hand and for the most part never before made public. This

manuscript, it must be remembered, was in the handwriting of Zeisberger in the German language. The translation was made by Prof. W. N. Schwarze, under a contract between him and the Society. The publication was edited and annotated by Prof. A. B. Hulbert, also under a contract with the Society. It is without doubt the most valuable work the Society has yet done and places our Society in the first rank of similar societies for the securing and preservation of new and valuable history.

The question of further publication of Moravian manuscripts, of which there are many at Bethlehem, is a matter for the further determination of the trustees or executive committee of the Society.

### THE BUILDING PROJECT.

The last chapter of the continued story of the building project is very brief. After a mutual understanding with the officers of the Society, the authorities of the Ohio State University in their requests for new buildings put in the item of $100,000 for a building for the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. The Finance Committee of the House of Representatives, however, decided to ignore all requests for new buildings by any of the state institutions, including universities. This because of the low ebb of the state finances. That disposed of the building project. Bills, however, were introduced, both in the House and the Senate, contemplating the purchase of certain pieces of real estate on Broad street and Third street, respectively, of the public square, upon which sites buildings might be erected for the use of the various departments of state, and in each instance the idea was in contemplation that whenever or whatever buildings might be erected, provision would probably be made in one of them for the housing of the quarters of this Society. But none of these bills ever went further than to be introduced and discussed. The building project is, therefore, as completely in the air as in the past.

### NEW LIFE MEMBERS.

Since the Annual Meeting (March 2, 1909), the following have been admitted to Life Membership by the Executive Committee:

Hon. C. H. Gallup, Norwalk.
Mrs. Alice E. Peters, Columbus.
Clarence Pearce, New Petersburg.
Mary Louise Cresap Stevenson, Dresden.
Eugene E. Williams, Lucas.
Hon. Nicholas Longworth, Cincinnati.
Hon. Edward A. Hafner, Cincinnati.
F. F. McArthur, Morrison, Ill.

Prof. Isaac J. Cox, Cincinnati.
Walter D. McKinney, Columbus.
Gen. Henry B. Carrington, Hyde Park, Mass.

ITINERARY OF THE SECRETARY AND OTHER OFFICERS.

Since the last Annual Meeting, the Secretary has made journeys as representative of the Society as follows:

March 29 and 30. Bethlehem, Pa., in company with Prof. A. B. Hulbert, concerning Moravian manuscripts.
April 7. Marietta, banquet celebrating Ohio Day.
April 16. Visited Fort Ancient, with Prof. Prince.
June 2. In company with Governor Harmon and President Wright, visited Union Village, as the guests of the Society of Shakers.
June 15. Went to Spiegel Grove, accompanied by Prof. W. R. Lazenby, President Wright and guests of Col. Hayes.
June 16. As the guest of Col. Hayes, visited site of Old Fort Sandusky.
July 8. In company with President Wright and Trustees Gallup, Bareis and Prince, visited Spiegel Grove.
July 15. Trustees Prince and Baughman represented the Society at the Centennial of the city of Norwalk.
July 16. Secretary visited and inspected Fort Ancient.
July 28. Cleveland in conference with the officers of the Western Reserve Historical Society.
August 6 and 7. Trip to Uniontown and site of Old Fort Necessity.
August 23. In company with Treasurer Wood, visited Spiegel Grove, to confer concerning the improvements on Harrison Trail.
September 3. Meeting in Cincinnati of the Executive Committee of the Ohio Valley Historical Association.
September 23. Visited Spiegel Grove, with President Wright, at the dedication of the Harrison Trail.
October 7 and 8. Point Pleasant, W. Va., representing the Society at the dedication of the monument in commemoration of the battle.
October 14 and 16. President Wright represented the Society at the annual meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Association, held at Frankfort, Ky.
November 4 and 5. Trustee Harper and Secretary Randall inspected Serpent Mound.
January 20. Meeting at Cincinnati of the Executive Committee of the Ohio Valley Historical Association.
April 9. Inspected Fort Ancient with Prof. Mills, Governor Harmon and party of Ohio State military officials.

SPIEGEL GROVE.

On March 31, 1909, Colonel Webb C. Hayes, while in Columbus, delivered the deed of the Harrison Trail section of Spiegel Grove to Secretary Randall. It was submitted to Attorney General U. G. Denman and approved by him. It was then returned to the Secretary and by him sent to Fremont to be recorded by the County Recorder. It was recorded April 5, 1909, returned to Secretary Randall and by him delivered to Mr. Fullington, Auditor of State, on July 13th.

The various visits of the committees to Spiegel Grove were enumerated in the itinerary of the Secretary. On August 13, 1909, two large cannon, secured by Colonel Hayes from the War Department at Washington, D. C., were received by him at Fremont and subsequently placed in position at the entrance of the Harrison Trail. This was done partially at the expense of the Society and partially at the expense of Colonel Hayes. On September 23, 1909, the dedication of the Harrison Trail was celebrated as mentioned elsewhere in this report.

Colonel Hayes, in the meantime, has expended $1,000 for trees and plants in beautifying the grounds, and he proposes to expend more. He has also secured more cannon to be put in position at the termination of the trail opposite the entrance on Buckland Avenue.

As a result of the visits made by Prof. Lazenby a diagram of the grounds was made, marking the position of the various historic trees and those which were to be labelled. Prof. Lazenby later secured the labels and they were recently forwarded to Col. Hayes and by this time have doubtless been placed upon the trees. It is Colonel Hayes' desire and proposition that if the Society will provide the funds, for the erection of a fireproof building near the residence, he will donate the library of his late father, and also the valuable collection of relics, to the Society, to be placed in said building. This building, he estimates, can be built for some twenty thousand dollars.

This is by far the most valuable acquisition the Society has received and has brought the Society into greater prominence throughout the state. It is hoped that some means may be devised whereby the funds can be raised for the erection of the desired building.

PERRY'S VICTORY CENTENNIAL.

Some two years ago, by resolution of the Legislature, it was decided that the State of Ohio celebrate Perry's Victory on September 13, 1913; that it invite other states and the United States to participate. With that view, a commission was appointed by Governor Harris, consisting of five members, which number was increased to nine by further legislative resolution, by Governor Harmon. That committee now consists of William H. Reinhart, President, Sandusky; George H. Worthington, Vice President, Cleveland; Webster P. Huntington, Secretary,

Columbus; S. N. Johannsen, Treasurer, Put-in-Bay; John J. Manning, Toledo; Eli Winkler, Cincinnati; Webb C. Hayes, Fremont; Horace Holbrook, Warren; and Wm. C. Mooney, Woodsfield.

Some time last fall, at a meeting of this commission, they decided to extend the proposal of their scheme and appoint, as an auxiliary committee, representatives from the various colleges in Ohio and the various historical societies. As the result of that action, the commission selected President Wright of our Society, Mr. Gallup of the Firelands Society, Prof. Cox of the Ohio Valley Historical Association, Mr. Hollenbeck of the Maumee Valley Historical Society, Mr. Cathcart of the Western Reserve Historical Society and possibly some others. This is to be known as the Auxiliary Historical Committee. The Legislature just adjourning, appropriated $30,000 for the use of this commission, $25,000 of it to be expended for a permanent monument and $5,000 for the current expenses of the commission. It is proposed that a similar amount will be appropriated in 1911 and also in 1912, making $90,000 in all. Seven other states have been invited to participate and to make appropriations as they desire. The United States government is expected to appropriate $250,000. It is thought that the combined appropriations of the various states and the national government will reach at least a half million dollars.

In conclusion Secretary Randall stated the members of the Society should acknowledge the interest the members of the General Assembly had taken in the progress of the Society; Mr. H. J. Ritter, Chairman of the House Finance Committee, and Mr. Thorne Baker, Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, were deserving of special recognition for their friendly consideration. Governor Harmon should also come in for his full share. No governor has taken greater interest in or given more attention to the Society. His zealous loyalty to the purpose and work of the Society is one of its most valuable assets.

## REPORT OF TREASURER FOR FISCAL YEAR ENDING MAY 1, 1910, FROM FEBRUARY 1, 1909.

RECEIPTS.

| | |
|---|---|
| Balance on hand February 1st, 1909 | $1,730 81 |
| Life Membership Dues | 175 00 |
| Active Membership Dues | 99 00 |
| Refunded by Stark County Centennial Committee | 6 40 |
| Athletic Association, O. S. U. | 12 00 |
| Ohio Valley Historical Association | 30 00 |
| Stone for Improving Highways | 3 40 |
| Books Sold | 118 99 |
| Interest | 440 81 |

| | |
|---|---|
| From State Treasurer: | |
| Appropriation for Current Expenses | 3,327 19 |
| Appropriation for Publications | 3,384 40 |
| Appropriation for Field Work, Fort Ancient and Serpent Mound | 2,375 30 |
| Total receipts | $11,703 30 |

DISBURSEMENTS.

| | |
|---|---|
| Refunded to State Treasurer | $34 99 |
| Big Bottom Park | 13 90 |
| Express, Freight and Drayage | 220 03 |
| Expenses of Trustees and Committees | 444 35 |
| Field Work | 337 41 |
| Fort Ancient — Care and Improvements | 706 15 |
| Job Printing | 27 25 |
| Museum and Library | 817 68 |
| Publications | 3,281 86 |
| Postage | 106 53 |
| Salaries (3) | 2,749 98 |
| Serpent Mound — Care and Improvements | 330 00 |
| Spiegel Grove Park | 252 29 |
| Sundry expenses | 73 86 |
| Transferred to Permanent Fund | 810 00 |
| Balance on hand, May 1st, 1910 | 1,497 02 |
| Total | $11,703 30 |

The Permanent Fund now amounts to the sum of $6,935.00.

Respectfully submitted,

E. F. Wood,

*Treasurer.*

## REPORT OF CURATOR AND LIBRARIAN.

During the year the Library has made great progress, and many volumes have been added. The growth has been a steady one, similar to the year previous. The accession book now shows 4,035 bound volumes entered. Last year our records showed 3,564, making a net addition of 461 bound volumes, while last year we received 460 bound volumes. All of the books have been received through gift or in exchange for our own publications.

The Museum has not made the additions during the past year equal to former years. This was due perhaps to the fact, that the Society did not send a working force into the field, but instead, the time

was used in making the Archaeological Atlas started by the Society last year.

Practically the entire summer was spent by the Curator in the northern part of the State; and practically the entire northern half of the State has been carefully gone over, and the mounds, earthworks, etc., have been marked upon the map.

At the present time the counties with the preliminary work entirely complete, are as follows: Franklin, Logan, Allen, Darke, Preble, Montgomery, Hamilton, Hancock, Henry, Wood, Ottawa, Sandusky, Seneca, Erie, Lorain, Medina, Cuyahoga, Summit, Lake, Geauga, Portage, Ashtabula, Trumbull, Jefferson, Belmont, Monroe, Jackson, Knox, and Fayette counties and the preliminary work in Huron, Ashland, Wayne, Stark, Mahoning, Columbiana, Carroll, Tuscarawas, Holmes, Richland, Crawford, Wyandot, Hardin, Marion, Morrow, Lucas, Fulton, Williams, Defiance, Paulding, Van Wert, Mercer, Auglaize, Shelby, Miami, Champaign, Clarke, Greene, Butler, Warren, Clinton, Clermont and Brown will be completed by the middle of June.

We started in to make our own maps, but when we found that the Road Commissioner was having an Atlas made, similar to our own ideas, we decided the size and character of the road map would be of service to us by merely making the addition of mounds and earthworks.

Insofar as Mr. Wonders, the Road Commissioner, is concerned, the Society is at liberty to use the maps to be printed for the commission by the state.

Mr. Wilbur Stout, Sciotoville, Ohio, has added two collections with a total of 176 specimens to his collection from Scioto County.

Mr. Stout's collection is now rich in a fine series of primitive agricultural implements made of Ferruginous Sandstone. The outcrop of this stone occurs along the Ohio River and can be seen only during low water in late summer. The stone occurs in a thin layer seldom over one-half inch in thickness, and was no doubt removed in small slabs and when broken into the desired size and one end sharpened by grinding, served as a very good agricultural implement.

Mr. Z. T. Smith of Upper Sandusky presented several early settler's carpenter tools and modern Indian implements from Wyandotte County as follows: one large Swiss chisel, used in making mortises prior to the invention of the augur. The chisel was attached to a handle set at right angles to blade which is over 20 inches in length. One iron scraper used by the Indians in shaping the interior of sugar troughs. Three specimens of iron axes used by the Wyandot Indians at Old Cranetown and Upper Sandusky. The axes are of different types, sold to the Indians from 1795 to 1810. Three specimens of large hunting knives. The blades are about 5 inches in length, encased in a curved handle. Twenty specimens of silver buckles, all found in the vicinity of

Upper Sandusky. The buckles are plain and circular, rounded on the face and flat on the back.

Mr. Smith also contributed two printed addresses and a Union State Ticket with the name of John Brough for Governor. One of the addresses was delivered in the Chapel of Ohio University, Athens, Ohio, on Christmas day, 1839, by E. Ballantine, A. M., and the other by Rev. Elijah Parish, A. M., Williamstown, Vermont, February 26th, 1806.

Mr. Emil Schlup of Upper Sandusky presented a hoe and a bail of a large kettle, both taken from the site of Old Cranetown, a Wyandot village.

Mrs. Alice E. Hawk of 157 St. Clair Avenue, Columbus, Ohio, presents the Society with a number of spears, canes and natural history specimens from Africa, also minerals, etc., from the United States.

Miss Harriet N. Townshend presents to the Museum a collection of shell beads from a big mound at one time located at Mound and Broadway, St. Louis, Missouri, and removed in 1869.

Mr. George Schwartz of Wooster presented two fine ceremonial pieces found in Wayne County, many years ago.

Governor Harmon presented to the Museum four arrow points sent to him by W. T. Hambridge of Eaton, Ohio.

Hon. Carl H. Keller, State Senator, Toledo, Ohio, presented to the Society a small collection consisting of a cannon ball and bayonet found on the site of the battle of Fallen Timbers.

Mr. Warren Cowen, custodian of Fort Ancient, presented the Museum with a number of celts, arrow and spear points found on the surface in various parts of the Fort.

Mr. King Thompson of East Woodruff Avenue, Columbus, presented the finds from a pre-historic grave, located on the Webster Park Addition, to the City of Columbus. From the grave was taken an unusually fine piece of pottery, which, by accident, was broken in many pieces, but we were very fortunate in being able to restore the specimen.

Dr. W. B. Rosamond of Milnersville, Guernsey County, Ohio, presented his entire collection of specimens to the Museum. The collection consists of Archaeological specimens collected in Guernsey County, Ohio, by Dr. Rosamond during the many years of his residence in Milnersville. The collection is rich in specimens of hematite, grooved axes and pestles, however many specimens of celts, drills, scrapers, knives, hammer-stones, hammers, spear and arrow points, pipes, banner stones and gorgets, fully illustrating the Archaeology of the County, are found in the collection.

Dr. Rosamond was also a collector of pioneer relics in Guernsey County, and he kindly sent the following specimens. Candle molds given

to Dr. Rosamond by Mr. George Willis, Guernsey County, who brought them to Ohio in 1816. An iron griddle brought from near Trenton, New Jersey, by Joshua Kimball to Burgettstown, Pennsylvania, from which place Adam Kimball brought them to Guernsey County, Ohio, in 1808. An oil lamp brought to Ohio from Pennsylvania, in 1812, by Benjamin Combs. A cow bell, owned by Isaac Couts' father, and was in use when Guernsey County was first settled. A fork made near Trenton, New Jersey, in 1798; and brought to Ohio by Adam Kimball in 1808.

The exchanges with Historical Societies and Scientific Institutions have not diminished but, on the other hand, have increased, and we have arranged during the year for exchanges with the following Institutions: The American Monthly Magazine, Alabama Anthropological Society, Cambridge Historical Society, Charleston Museum, Chicago Academy of Science, Connecticut State Library, Historical Society of Delaware, Indiana State Library, Michigan Academy of Science, National American Society and the Virginia State Library.

The Curator found that it was impossible to keep pace with the growth of our Library and Museum with the limited help at his command, and this matter was brought before the Executive Committee and additional help was granted the Curator, and Mrs. Gertrude Wright was installed to look after the exchanges and the Library. This is a great step in advance, as we were never able to keep the exchange records in any complete systematic and accessible manner.

Our accumulation of reprints and pamphlets containing addresses and reports is so rapid that it is necessary to put them in shape for reference and to that end we have been binding these pamphlets and arranging them so they can be readily found. We propose to properly catalogue them and in that way make them of service to the Library.

My plans for the coming year are first, to push forward as rapidly as possible the work on the Archaeological Atlas, and then to carry on some additional field work if the proper mounds can be secured. The Society is familiar with the Hopewell group and I have explained the necessity of again making a complete examination of this great earthwork. At the present time I am unable to say whether or not the permission will be granted for this work, but we hope it will.

During the winter the Society sent me to Philadelphia as a representative to the Museums Association of America, and to Boston to the American Association for the Advancement of Science. The meeting of the Museums Association in Philadelphia was of special interest to museums and museum workers. Section H of the American Association for the Advancement of Science was of special interest to workers in Anthropology and Archaeology, as papers and lectures upon almost every phase were given and they proved of wonderful value.

Professor Putnam of Harvard University gave me a special invitation to visit the Museum, and arrangements with him were made to secure a duplicate collection from the great Madisonville Cemetery, for our Society.

Respectfully submitted,

W. C. Mills.

ELECTION OF TRUSTEES.

The secretary reported that the terms of Trustees Myron T. Herrick and Martin R. Andrews terminated on the 9th of last February (1910), but that Governor Harmon promptly reappointed each to be his own successor for the coming term of three years, maturing February, 1913.

Upon motion, President Wright appointed a nominating committee of three, Messrs. Wood, Prince and Andrews, to suggest to the meeting of the Society candidates for the Trusteeship to fill the places of those maturing at this meeting. Those Trustees were, Messrs. Baughman, Beal, Brinkerhoff, Ryan and Thompson. The committee retired and later reported the names for Trustees as follows: Messrs. Baughman, Brinkerhoff, Ryan, Thompson and Schaus. The report of the committee was accepted and these five gentlemen were formally elected for the offices named. The nominating committee also reported that as Rev. W. H. Rice, formerly of Gnadenhutten, Ohio, had removed from the state to South Bethlehem, Pa., he had thereby vacated his office of Trustee, which encumbency would regularly terminate at the Annual Meeting in 1911. The committee therefore proposed Mr. H. E. Buck, of Delaware, for the Trusteeship, vice W. H. Rice. Upon proper motion and vote, Mr. Buck was elected to the vacancy. In the departure from Ohio of Dr. Rice, the Society loses the close-at-hand activity of one of its most enthusiastic and valuable members and officers.

The Board of Trustees of the Society as now constituted is as follows:

TERMS EXPIRE IN 1911.

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| R. E. Hills | Delaware |
| C. L. Martzolff | Athens |
| G. Frederick Wright | Oberlin |
| Albert Douglas | Chillicothe |
| H. E. Buck | Delaware |

TERMS EXPIRE IN 1912.

| | |
|---|---|
| Mr. G. F. Bareis | Canal Winchester |
| Gen. J. Warren Keifer | Springfield |
| Mr. E. F. Wood | Columbus |
| Mr. C. H. Gallup | Norwalk |
| Mr. Walter C. Metz | Newark |

TERMS EXPIRE IN 1913.

| | |
|---|---|
| Mr. A. J. Baughman | Mansfield |
| Gen. R. Brinkerhoff | Mansfield |
| Hon. D. J. Ryan | Columbus |
| Rev. H. A. Thompson | Dayton |
| Hon. L. P. Schaus | Columbus |

APPOINTED BY THE GOVERNOR.

| | |
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| Prof. B. F. Prince, Springfield | 1911 |
| Mr. E. O. Randall, Columbus | 1911 |
| Rev. N. B. C. Love, Perrysburg | 1912 |
| Hon. J. W. Harper, Cincinnati | 1912 |
| Hon. Myron T. Herrick, Cleveland | 1913 |
| Prof. M. R. Andrews, Marietta | 1913 |

REPORTS OF STANDING COMMITTEES.

The reports of Standing Committees being called for, President Wright responded briefly on behalf of the Committee on Museum and Library. Prof. Prince replied for the Committee on Fort Ancient, stating he had made several trips to the Fort during the past year, twice in company with Secretary Randall, and that the Fort was in excellent condition, indeed better than ever, and that Mr. Cowen was fulfilling his duties as faithfully as ever. Prof. Martzolff reported his several visits to Big Bottom Park and that the property is being well cared for by the custodian, and stated that after his last suggestions were carried out by the custodian, he (Martzolff) believed he had no recommendations to make as to improvements. Mr. Ryan, for the Publication Committee, stated that that subject had been practically covered by the report of the Secretary and that the publications themselves would suffice as a report of the work of the committee. Secretary Randall reported on behalf of the Com-

mittee on Serpent Mound to the effect that last November he, in company with Senator Harper, visited the mound and spent the day there; that they found the property in excellent shape, under the care of Daniel Wallace, but found that the wire fence protecting the edge of the bluff at the head of the serpent in bad condition, also the roof of the kitchen and portico of the custodian's house, which defects were ordered repaired; several rooms were also ordered re-papered and some trees obstructing the view of the Serpent from the Observation Tower were ordered cut down. These improvements have been made and paid for, and the tower has recently been ordered repainted. The Finance Committee report being called for it was suggested that that had been covered in the report of the Treasurer. Prof. Mills supplemented the report of the Fort Ancient Committee by telling of the trip of himself and Secretary Randall to Fort Ancient to act as hosts to the visit of Governor Harmon and his staff, as Mr. Randall stated, consisting of two generals, four colonels and six captains. Prof. Mills particularly complimented the care of the Fort by Warren Cowen and the work recently done there; he had never seen the Fort in such excellent condition.

MISCELLANEOUS BUSINESS.

Rev. Thompson spoke feelingly concerning the absence of General Brinkerhoff, who, Mr. Baughman reported, would be 82 years of age on June 17th, and who was still active in business and alert in the subjects that interested him. Secretary was requested by the meeting to write General Brinkerhoff a letter expressing the regret that he was not present and wishing him long life and happiness. This suggestion was put into the form of a motion and carried. The members of the meeting expressed their friendship for General Brinkerhoff in the above suggestions by a rising vote.

Senator Harper stated he wished to make his favorite request, that the Society hold a meeting in Cincinnati, where we have over twenty life members. Prof. Hulbert, at this point, called attention to the fact heretofore overlooked that this year (1910) is the 25th anniversary of the establishment of the

Society, and he thought it would be a fitting thing if this Cincinnati meeting could take on the nature of a 25th celebration, with a dinner, formal speeches and the presence of some distinguished invited guests. This suggestion was heartily endorsed by a few remarks by Mr. Ryan. The matter was finally disposed of by authorizing President Wright to appoint at his convenience a committee of five to formulate a plan for such Cincinnati meeting and report the same to the Executive Committee.

### ANNUAL MEETING OF TRUSTEES.

Immediately after the adjournment of the Annual Meeting of the Society there was held the Annual Meeting of the Board of Trustees. Those present were, Messrs. Andrews, Bareis, Baughman, Buck, Gallup, Harper, Love, Martzolff, Prince, Randall, Ryan, Schaus, Thompson, Wood, Wright and Mills.

Prof. Prince acted as chairman of the meeting and Mr. Randall as secretary.

In accordance with the provisions of the Constitution that the Trustees elect the officers of the Society, the following were elected for the ensuing year:

President, G. Frederick Wright.
First Vice President, George F. Bareis.
Second Vice President, Daniel J. Ryan.
Secretary and Editor, E. O. Randall.
Treasurer, E. F. Wood.
Curator and Librarian, W. C. Mills.

As members of the Executive Committee for the ensuing year, in addition to the officers already chosen who are *ex officio* members, there were selected, Messrs. Gallup, Harper, Martzolff, Prince and Schaus.

The Executive Committee therefore, as newly constituted, is as follows: Messrs. Bareis, Gallup, Harper, Martzolff, Mills, Prince, Randall, Ryan, Schaus, Wood and Wright. General R. Brinkerhoff, President Emeritus, by courtesy of his office, is entitled to attendance upon the meetings of the Executive Committee.

# AN ABOLITION CENTER.

THOMAS J. SHEPPARD.

In the spring of 1802 two travelers met in the wilderness between Zanesville and Marietta, Ohio. Though they rode together by day and camped together by night, each refrained from disclosing to the other the object of his journey. That object was to purchase the section of land upon which, later on, grew up the village of Putnam, now the Ninth Ward of the city of Zanesville. The travelers were John McIntyre, the founder of Zanesville, and Dr. Increase Mathews, a nephew of Gen. Rufus Putnam, who was at that time in charge of the U. S. land office at Marietta. Each of these men had set out at the same time to seek the same prize.

At the land office, a few days later, the travelers did some spirited bidding but Dr. Mathews got the land. His cousin, Levi Whipple, joined in the purchase and later on Gen. Putnam became a joint proprietor.

On this land, on the western bank of the Muskingum river, was founded, two years before Ohio became a state, the village of Springfield; so called from a fine spring of water which gushed from the rocky face of the western hillside, and to which a pioneer romance gave the name of "The Lovers' Fountain." Subsequently the name of the village was changed to "Putnam" in honor of its most distinguished proprietor.

The early settlers of Putnam, while they valued the spring and the water power of the beautiful river, set a higher value on education, morality and religion. Being of New England stock they were ardent advocates of human freedom, and in the fullest accord with the great Ordinance which had forever dedicated to freedom the land on which they had established their homes.

This anti-slavery sentiment led to the establishment, as early as 1833, of a monthly meeting to pray for the abolition of African slavery. For many years this prayer meeting was held in

the old stone academy on Jefferson street. It was attended by Judge Edwin Putnam, Levi Whipple, Dr. Increase Mathews, Major Horace Nye, J. C. Guthrie, Solomon Sturges, M. B. Cushing, Alvah Buckingham and other leading citizens.

During 1835 the lectures of Theo. D. Weld, a noted abolition speaker, created great excitement and opposition. A committee was appointed to ask Richard Stilwell, then the prosecuting attorney of the county, to prevent the disturbance of these meetings. In April, 1835, the state abolition convention was held in Putnam. Bands of rioters encouraged by respectable citizens and more guilty men, came over from Zanesville, disturbed the sessions of the convention, defaced the academy building, insulted the ladies in attendance, and finally broke up the meeting. They threatened to burn the dwellings of Major Nye, Mr. Howell and Austin A. Guthrie, which were guarded for some time by their abolition friends.

The State Abolition Convention was again held in Putnam in 1839. On the assembling of that body the hostility to the Abolitionists, which had somewhat subsided, broke out afresh. Various inflammatory circulars were distributed, among them a hand-bill entitled "The Resurrection of the Abolitionists in Putnam." It was full of bitterness and well calculated to arouse the worst passions of lawless men.

The late James Buckingham says, "I remember on one of these mornings of asking mother where father was. Her reply was that he was not up yet as he had been out most of the night guarding property against the mob. 'Don't you remember,' she said, 'that last week a man made an Abolition speech, and some fellows from the Zanesville side raised a row, and threw rotten eggs at him, and that night they set fire to Adam Francis' barn at the brick tavern, because the speaker put up there, and threatened to burn the town, and how they burned Levi Whipple's barn and started other fires which were put out? And now the citizens have to be out every night to guard their property.' "

Part of "the brick tavern" is still to be seen on the northwest corner of Putnam avenue and Jefferson street.

One of the rioters, Mike Casey, was arrested and convicted, but, while being taken to jail, was released by an armed band

of fellow rioters and taken in triumph into Zanesville. The appearance and report of this party caused the crowd to rush down Third street and through the bridge with renewed threats to burn Putnam. But at the Putnam end of the bridge they were met by Mayor Z. M. Chandler with an armed police, and warned that further advance would be at their peril, while Major Nye stood there, with a musket he carried in the war of 1812, crying out, "Mr. Mayor, shall I shoot, shall I shoot?" After some parley the mob slowly retreated with bitter curses on the Abolition town. This assault led to the organization of "The Putnam Greys," which, under the drill of Captain Jesse P. Hatch, a graduate of the Partridge Military School at Norwich, Conn., was for many years one of the finest military companies of the state.

The writer well remembers Capt. Hatch as the efficient teacher of music and penmanship in the Zanesville Public Schools. And he can never forget, among the joys of his boyhood, following the Putnam Greys, joined by the Zanesville Guards and the Warren Greens, in their parades through the streets of Zanesville.

While Putnam was the center, the anti-slavery sentiment was not confined to that side of the river. Among the Virginians, comprising so large an element of the Zanesville population, were many who had come to Ohio because of their dislike to the institution of African slavery. While this element was not favorable to the Abolitionists it was still opposed to the evil itself. There was also a considerable infusion of English people in the population. These were usually sympathizers with the oppressed blacks. So, on the whole, among especially the best citizens, there was a sentiment as to slavery ranging from mere dislike to active opposition. This was illustrated by the fact that when a prominent citizen of Zanesville, having become United States Marshal, assisted in capturing and returning to bondage a runaway slave, the church to which the Marshal belonged excluded him from their fellowship, though he was an active member, and the father of a prominent Congressman.

The descendants of Joseph Sheppard, a Baptist preacher, who lived for many years on Fourth Street, a little north of Market, relate how one night his house was searched for a runaway

slave. No negro was found, however, which, I think, was the usual result in those days. Elder Sheppard was a large man, but of a kind disposition, averse to any violence. On one occasion, having gone to some Abolition meeting in Putnam, he found his return blocked at the bridge by a mob which declared that no Abolitionist should pass. But so well known was his disposition that on his approach the leader of the mob cried out, "Boys, let Elder Sheppard pass, he won't hurt nobody." After the passage of "the fugitive slave law" many Abolitionists were puzzled to see how they were to obey the Divine Law and yet not break a human law which their consciences could not approve. Elder Sheppard's daughter, so well known as "Aunt Betsy," solved the problem in a wise and practical way. While busy one evening with her housework the expected happened. The dark-skinned fugitive stood at the door mutely appealing for help. What should she do! How honor God and yet not break the law of the land, were questions which rushed through her mind. What was the solution? She laid upon the table a loaf of bread and some money and left the room. When she returned the man, the money and the bread had moved north toward a land where human freedom did not depend on race or color.

Those were times of great political bitterness, of growing opposition to slavery, the unrecognized foreshadowings of the Civil War. I may close with the words of Mr. Buckingham: "In looking back it may be said that, while the Abolitionists did not always display the meekness and wisdom of the Master whom they professed to serve, the arguments they advanced were seldom met in fair discussion but rather with misrepresentation, personal abuse and the violence of the mob."

Granville, Ohio.

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NOTE: Much of the material for this article was furnished by Mr. James Buckingham, the last survivor of those personally acquainted with the events.

# MUSKINGUM RIVER IMPROVEMENT.

## THE McCONNELSVILLE LOCK—OLD AND NEW.

IRVEN TRAVIS.

The beginning of the improvement of the Muskingum dates back to 1827 when on January 17th the following resolution was passed by the General Assembly:

"Resolved: That the Board of Canal Commissioners deem it expedient, and authorize an examination and survey of the Muskingum River from Marietta to a point most convenient for a connection with the Ohio Canal, to ascertain the practicability of improving the navigation of said river, provided the counties of Washington, Morgan and Muskingum provide the necessary assistance for making such survey."

The Ohio Canal referred to in this Resolution was formally opened on July 4, 1827, New York's Governor Clinton of "Canal Fame," having dug the first shovelful of earth, and Governor Morrow, of Ohio, the second. This commencement took place exactly two years prior to the opening, and was attended with due ceremony.

The examination and survey of the Muskingum must have been delayed for a considerable length of time, for as late as February 22, 1830, Robert McConnell, of McConnelsville, obtained a charter from the State Legislature permitting the building of a dam across the Muskingum at McConnelsville, which would afford water power to drive the machinery of a flouring mill. This Charter required McConnell to build a lock also. This plan was carried out by McConnell, and his plant operated until the general improvement of the river by the State of Ohio. When this Charter was surrendered an agreement was made between McConnell and the State officials whereby McConnell deeded to the State of Ohio 7.29 acres of land through which the State purposed digging a canal. In lieu of this and the prior right of McConnell, the State agreed to furnish free

of water rent sufficient water to drive ten (10) run of Millstones of 4½ feet D. to be driven by labor-saving machinery, to be used where the Mill of McConnell then stood, or at such place as would thereafter conduce most to the interests of said McConnell and the State of Ohio.

The examination and survey having been made, and the locks and dams located, bids for their construction were called for through the newspaper of McConnelsville; this call was dated August 13, 1836. The bids were to be opened at the Court House at McConnelsville on October 20th, of the same year. This sale of contracts continued four days when all the different contracts for the entire river had been sold in our own town.

The names of the successful bidders appeared in the People's Advocate. The firm of Hosmer, Chopin, and Sharp having been awarded the contract of building the lock and dam No. 7 at McConnelsville. Mr. S. R. Hosmer taking charge of the work, bought a piece of land on the hill and built the house now occupied by Mr. H. L. Cochran, where he resided during his engagement here.

Excavation was made at the present location for the lock. A rock foundation was found so near the proper level that but a few feet of the rock was removed. It would seem that no better foundation would be required; however, when the excavation was completed huge trees were prepared by hewing two sides, and were placed side by side as near as could be across the lock chamber, which is 36 feet wide, extending under both walls. This required a length of 60 feet, the timbers being 12 inches thick when flatted, were the natural taper of the tree in width, and in placing them they were reversed, laying a wide and a narrow end together — thus they ran more nearly at right angles with the walls. This timber foundation extended from the lower end of the masonry up-stream a distance of 35 feet, and down-stream from the upper end for a like distance. At the present time this timber would be considered wholly unnecessary; in fact, a detriment, as water soon finds its way "under pressure" through the openings between the timbers and around their ends, but it is presumed that at that time no means of securing the mitre sills of lock gates to the rock was known, and

it seems that the walls were built on the timbers solely for the purpose of having something secure on which to bolt the mitre sills. In order to prevent the water from escaping through between the timber, a plank floor 4 inches thick with water-tight joints was laid on top of the timbers, the joints running at right angles with the timber and parallel with the walls. This was all right for a time only. The floor, which was of yellow poplar, soon became water-worn and leaked badly. The masonry was of cut stone and laid in lime mortar, and was built to look fair on the face, but the bond was wanting; the front and back of each wall being almost independent of each other, and the space between was filled with lime core, cinders and refuse from the cutting yard. The water soon found its way into the interior, the filling was washed out and the walls left hollow; so in a few years it became necessary to drill through each wall and put through bolts in to hold the front and back courses together; this was not done, however, until the front wall had bulged and contracted the width of the lock chamber.

The lock gates were built of the very best white oak timber, which was very plentiful at that time. Large trees were required, as the width of the arms which lay parallel with the surface of the water was 22 inches when finished; the heel and toe post, which stood upright, were 18 inches by 20 inches; the upper and lower gates were nearly the same height. As the lower end of the wall was not so high as the upper, the difference being about 6 feet, it was this fact that caused much trouble and annoyance, as the river did not reach a very high stage until it was too high to lock, as the water would run over the lower part of the walls. In hanging the gates a cast iron plate or pintle was laid on the floor in the angle formed by the walls and mitre sill, and a corresponding casting on the lower end of the heel post. The top of the gate was held in position by hog chains which formed a hinge. The gates were not intended to swing clear as a circular track of a proper radius was placed so the toe of the gate would follow this track when operated. On the top of the track an iron of $\frac{3}{4}$ inch by 4 inches was placed on which a huge sheave, which was fastened to the bottom of the gate, traveled. This was a failure, as stone or gravel would wash upon this

track and chock the gate. This sheave was taken off on that account and the gate then rested on the track, where it must slide —which soon wore a groove in the lower arm of the gate and caused another trouble.

The valves were placed in the gates near the bottom as near as could be and not interfere with the mitre sill. This reduced the strength of the gate materially at the point of the greatest pressure. The valves were operated by a rack and pinion located on the top of the gate where the operator must stand. At first two valves were placed in each gate with an opening 24 inches by 44 inches, but when the gates were rebuilt as many as four were placed. This still reduced the strength of the gates, and in some cases they went down under the pressure from this cause. The additional valves were placed in order to reduce the time of locking. I am inclined to think that the delay in boats passing through the lock was not so much on account of the small number of valves as it was to the slow and tedious manner of operating the gates. It seems now that a more crude devise could not have been thought of. Powerful Crabs or Windlasses, very slow in operation, as speed had been sacrificed for power in their construction, were provided. One of these to open and one to close each gate; thus eight were required. Chains were used, made of $\frac{3}{4}$ inch rod and links about 4 inches in length. To open the gate, the chain was made fast to the toe of the gate near the bottom, (which would be 4 feet under water), from this point the chain ran along the bottom of the lock to a point where the toe of the gate would be when opened, where it passed over a large iron sheave, then up the perpendicular face of the wall and over another sheave, then to the drum of the windlass. This same arrangement was used to close the same gate, the windlass being located on the opposite wall near the heel of the other gate, which required a longer chain. You will see that by this arrangement that boats must pass over these chains when entering or passing out of the locks, and that when the chain was being wound up on the drum of one it must be unwound from the other in order that the gate might travel in the opposite direction. When it is known that one turn of the crank moved the gate but $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches, you will at once see how slow the operation must

have been, and it must be kept in mind that both must be operated at the same time, for if there was no slack chain on the one, the other could not be turned. Taking the distance of travel of each gate, which was 22 feet, multiplied by 8, the number of turns of the crank for each foot of travel, multiplied by 8, the number of windlasses, we have 1408 turns of the cranks necessary to operate the lock each time. Eight men at least were required to operate if done in the least time possible, and if the Lock Master had the lock to operate without help, he would not have it done by this time.

Of course this elaborate machinery was soon discarded and a very simple and effective devise adopted, which remained in use until the old lock was abandoned, which was in 1889, the first lock having been in use for almost fifty years.

Before describing the rebuilding of the lock, will say that the contract of Hosmer, Chopin & Sharp did not include the building of the abutments and guard gates at the head of the Canal. The latter being contracted by Conklin & Russell, and was completed before the lock, and in order that the McConnell Mill might be started a dam or fill was built across the new canal about the foot of Parade Street, thus affording water power to the mill without interfering with the work at the lock.

Great expectations were entertained concerning the benefits which were to come by the improvement of our river, and many disappointments followed. It was calculated that water rents alone would pay interest on the estimated cost, which was $445,000, but this was not the case as many disastrous breaks occurred before the completion of the system, and many soon after, which caused damage suits which were expensive.

While there seems to have been plenty of business, navigation was interrupted by various causes, so the revenue from tolls was not very great. The first toll was collected on September 14, 1840. I notice that 98,000 bbls. of flour were reported in 1843, the amount of toll collected for that year ending November 30th, was 29,384, the amounts varied, not going below $24,000, and reached $50,000 as the maximum in 1847.

Finally on the 2d day of June, 1861, the river improvement was leased to a company. This lease continued in force until

1877, from which time it was in the hands of a Receiver until 1878. The lessees did not pay much attention to the needed repair only so far as would enable them to collect tolls, and consequently the river became in worse condition each succeeding year, so when the lessees abandoned it in 1877 and the State again took charge in 1878 there was not much left to take charge of, and it was with much difficulty that any kind of navigation was maintained.

This state of affairs continued until 1886 and 7, when the General Government was induced to take this improvement, which had now cost $627,000 (The estimated cost being $445,000.) At the time the Government agreed to accept this present there was about $10,000 available fund which was to go with it, but by the time the final transfer was to have been made this money had been expended in much needed repairs. This caused delay, as the Government would not nor could not make the transfer without the money. Although this was arranged for by Congress as this deficiency had been included in the appropriation for Rivers and Harbors. Here President Cleveland got in our way by vetoing this bill; therefore, the river was still ours.

It was at this time some of our citizens who are generally interested in public affairs, together with others from other points on the river, got busy; they having already made trips to Washington, D. C., and fixed matters, but they could not have seen President Cleveland — hence the veto. They now turned their attention to the State Legislature, and finally an amount sufficient to cover the deficiency was appropriated by the State and the transfer was made.

Colonel W. E. Merrill, Corps of U. S. Engineers, whose office was in Cincinnati, Ohio, took charge of the Government's newly acquired property, and established a branch office in Zanesville, Ohio, with Lieut. Lansing H. Beach in charge. This new management immediately began doing things. About the first work of importance at McConnelsville was the filling of a mill race, which had furnished water to a mill below the lock, which had been abandoned. This work was done in mid-winter when the ground was frozen to a depth of 14 inches. The material

being taken from the shore bank of the canal where there were many irregular projecting points. The frozen crust was drilled and shot with powder, and many a huge piece was hauled on a drag and dumped in, to thaw out later. This work was finally completed at a cost of about $3,000. This fill had scarcely had time to settle when it was decided to repair the lock. In order to do this it at once became necessary to remove this filling so recently placed — so we went at it. "After due Notice," on the 31st day of August, 1889, navigation was closed. A coffer-dam was built across the canal about 100 feet above the upper end of the lock, a second across the lower end about 50 feet below the walls. A few derricks were erected, pumps and pumping engines were set, and railroad built, but the plant was not systematically arranged and completed until the following year when 26 derricks were in use, the five principal ones were operated by steam hoists, the others mostly by horse power lifts, and a few by hand power. A railroad was now built which extended from the upper coffer along the shore side of the lock a distance of 350 yards to a yard where the stone were to be cut. From this point the road switched back, passing through the lock chamber on a trestle 22 feet high. Three derricks 60 feet high were placed on this trestle along side of the track, and so arranged that their booms would reach any point on either wall. This track ran out onto the island to a point where a derrick is now in use. This track was arranged so that all loaded cars went on a down grade. The rough stones were received by barge from up river and were lifted from barge by steam, and then pushed by hand to cutting yard, where the track switched back through the lock chamber, still down grade, so the old stone as removed was sent out on the island, and the new stone came in on same track without interference. This was not a small job, and the force employed soon required much clerical work, but it was not until October, 1891, that the force reached 212 men, and the pay-roll $6,117.47 as a maximum.

It is to be supposed that the new lock would be an improvement over the old one in all respects, which I think true. In the first place the upper and lower ends of the walls are on the same level, which enables the operation of the lock at a much higher

stage of water than with the first lock. Another improvement is that the valves are placed in the walls instead of in the gate, which gives openings of much larger dimensions; consequently, they are operated quicker.

I will first describe the construction of the gates, which are built quite differently from those already described, as there are no upright timbers in these gates, all are horizontal, the first 6 feet from the bottom is solid timber, that is, one stick laid on another, the bottom pieces are 15 inches square, others varying in size, but all 15 inches wide; these timbers are 21 feet and 7 inches long, and are dressed so a water joint is made. Above this there are spaces between timbers which are graduated in strength to suit the water pressure. The new gates are hung by a cast shoe at the heel setting on a pivot, and at the top by a Bonnet and Pin. The points of contact are only at these two points and the heel of the gates is eccentric, so as the gate opens it is carried away from the Quoin, but in closing it is carried up close, and a water joint is made at the heel at the moment the gate strikes the mitre sill.

In building the front of each, wall faced stone was used, and hammer dressed in the back. In laying the stone the plan is to lay two stretchers to one header, a stretcher being a stone from 4 feet to 6 feet long and about 2 feet to 30 inches wide, and from 2 feet to 30 inches rise; when two such stones are laid end to end then a header is laid next, which shows only about half the size on face of wall, but extends back from 4 to 6 feet. First, the front course is laid in this manner, and then the back in the same manner, but having the headers lap past each other. This is to form a bond, and saves bolting as in the old lock. After the back and front were laid in this manner the voids between were filled with rubblestone, and cement mortar, then leveled off and another course laid in like manner.

In building the present wall every course was spotted level with a surveyor's level, then cut to as near a level as could be before starting another course. I have a small imitation of the real thing which shows the construction of the lower end of the lock. The upper end is much more complicated and would

be of much more interest if I could show a model, which unfortunately I cannot.

Another improvement over the old lock is a needle dam located immediately above the upper gates; this is intended to serve in closing off the water to make repairs as given. This I will not undertake to describe at present.

The work of rebuilding continued from August 31, 1877, until December 12, 1878, when the first coal passed up through the new structure. This work like all other river improvements, personally and critically on account of high water at times the water would fall and work was stopped until men could be employed to remove the silt from the lock chamber, which would be as much as 4 feet in depth, and of the consistency of soft mud. To remove this a platform was built on which two men stood, an ordinary 8 inch scoop shovel was used, and as fast as they would clear out of sight. All of the mud was filled with clams, live and dead, and dumped over the river wall. The cost of this work at the present time in short order as improvements have been made whereby a suction pump, especially constructed for such work would make such a job easy and of short duration. As it is now twenty years since the work was in progress I find it lacking even the record many plans and specifications are brought to mind, as well as some not to please. Particularly an accident of a serious nature happened at McConnellsville, two men were drowned at other points on the river, and several men were killed. In connection, I would say in finishing up this work I have been associated in one way or another with the building of the dam, who have had most of whom were residents of McConnellsville.

# WINFIELD SCOTT'S VISIT TO COLUMBUS.

BY GEN. H. B. CARRINGTON, U. S. A.

[General Henry Beebee Carrington is one of the very few surviving generals of the Civil War. He has led a distinguished and eventful life. Born in Wallingford, Conn., March 2, 1824, he is now at the age of eighty-six, hale and hearty; a writer of clearness and precision and a speaker forceful and entertaining. He graduated at Yale (1845) and in November, 1848, arrived in Columbus to there take up his permanent residence. Of his entrance into the Capital City he notes in his own language that it was "travelling by stage from Cleveland to Columbus over the Loudonville hills, being met all along the way by the call 'Who is Governor?' and that the election of Seaberry Ford as Governor was not settled until after my arrival in Columbus, you will see the initial point from which my Columbus experience underwent varied and unusual vicissitudes." Immediately after his arrival in Columbus, he began the study of law, was admitted to the bar and practiced his profession until 1861, during the most of which period he was the law partner of William Dennison, the first war governor of Ohio. Mr. Carrington was Adjutant General for the State (Ohio) from 1857 to 1861. At the outbreak of the war he organized many of the first regiments sent out by Ohio; became colonel of the 18th U. S. Infantry; had a distinguished record as commander, participating in many of the important battles and emerging from the conflict as a brigadier-general. In 1875 he was granted access by the governments of both Great Britain and France to all archives pertaining to the American Revolution; he surveyed and mapped all the battle-fields of the American Revolution, the result of which was the most complete and authentic work on the revolutionary battles ever issued. He served the United States government in many important capacities, as, in 1889-91, moving the Indians through Missoula across Mission Ridge range of the Rocky Mountains to Jocko Reservation, Western Montana; later, under direction of the United States government he made a detailed census of the Six Nations in New York and the Cherokees in North Carolina. General Carrington has been a prolific writer, something like a dozen volumes on American history, politics, etc., emanating from his pen. He is now a resident of Hyde Park, Mass., and the article which herewith follows, recounting an interesting incident in the visit of General Winfield Scott to Columbus, is from an address delivered by General Carrington on the evening of his 86th birthday before the Massachusetts Commandery of the Loyal Legion, at its Spring Meeting in Boston, March 2, 1910. — EDITOR.]

COMMANDER AND COMPANIONS:

I respectfully ask permission on this my 86th birthday, on release from an attack of grippe, as I may not have a better opportunity, to speak briefly of a great soldier with a great heart, Gen. Winfield Scott, commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States, who sprang so promptly to the rescue of the beleaguered garrison of Fort Sumter in 1861, when, if he had been loyally supported by the Federal authorities, the Stars and Stripes would never have left masthead so long as the sun shed its light, and years of dreadful war for the preservation of the Union and Constitution of the fathers might have been spared our country. All is right now. The Union has been restored, but at what a cost!

HENRY B. CARRINGTON,
Brig. Genl. U. S. Army.

I make this request because I owe Gen. Scott a boundless measure of personal gratitude, and do it with more freedom because of our present membership, no other commission of general or field officer during the Civil war dates back of my own, May 14, 1861, and Gen. Scott in person, without my own previous knowledge, was active in its issue. It is historic in fact, and I desire to have it on record with those of other companions of this commandery.

I was on very close relations to Gen. Scott during a painful tragic incident which he declared to have been the most painful of his life. Its sequel will be noted later.

As the Whig candidate in 1852 for the presidency of the United States, unmindful of his lack of experience in political or social science and aptitude for oratorical discussions of polit-

ical issues, he ventured upon a formal political campaign, via Ohio, with New Orleans and the South as his objective point of influence. Great applause and a rousing reception awaited him at Cleveland, Ohio.

At Cleveland he found awaiting his arrival the following committee from Columbus. All military and civil organizations or orders at the capital had been organized for a grand procession and welcome on his arrival. The committee consisted of Aaron F. Perry, Esq., my own former law partner, afterwards congressman from Cincinnati, and William Dennison, then my law partner, who afterwards became governor at the outbreak of the war.

A telegram reached me from Cleveland that I must act as the personal escort of Gen. Scott upon his arrival at Columbus. A salute of 21 guns was to be fired upon his leaving the railroad station, and a gun squad was awaiting his arrival. A coach and four, duly decorated, awaited his pleasure. All roofs and windows of the main street, High street, and all sidewalks, were crowded with thousands of eager and enthusiastic observers. A handkerchief signal was to follow the second shot of the salute for the procession to take up its march.

Upon reaching the carriage, I was advised that my seat would be at Gen. Scott's left, and upon my comment, "I do not see why this be so, unless to make the contrast more decided by the side of his magnificent physical carriage," he replied at once, with a smile: "Size does not make the man, sir. I am in the hands of your committee the same as yourself, and that is their concern."

The first shot was fired, and at the second I raised my hand to give the moving signal when an artillery man rushed from the station to tell me that by a premature discharge of the piece, two and perhaps three had been killed. Dr. Hamilton, a skillful surgeon, was in the doorway. To him, I entrusted the charge of the whole matter, with caution "to make no public demonstration of his medical service," stepped back, entered the carriage, gave the signal, and with the music of many bands and shouts of excited witnesses the procession hastened on its route.

On reaching the Neil house, opposite the Capitol, the Gen-

eral was introduced and was warmly welcomed, and the hotel was soon filled with delegations to do him honor.

The most impressive body thus presented, was that of Germans under the escort of the venerable Judge Christian Heyl, who with marked excitement presented a copy of the Westbote, a local Democratic paper, and demanded whether its charges "that when in Mexico he both flogged and hung German soldiers, for absence without leave, desertion, and let Irish and other soldiers go clear," were true.

Scott, like an enraged lion, rose to his full stature of more than six feet, four inches, and as he swung wide his arms and breasted the waiting Germans, words shot forth as from a catapult. He was like a wild man, and people shrank back from his immediate presence. For a moment it seemed that he must strike some living adversary.

"What's that! What's that you say? I never heard it before! It's a devilish invention! An infamous lie! A damned falsehood! For a man who for fifty years had neither risen from sleep nor walked abroad, or even drank a cup of cold water in the field, but his mind was on his country, her honor and her welfare! This is wicked, atrocious, horrible! You see me excited! I have the right to be excited!" With sweeping arms and gestures as wild, he added: "I carried on war as a Christian, and not as a fiend!"

Judge Heyl caught the truth, withdrew his delegation, and as they left the Neil parlor, the corridors rang with this, their response:

"Hurrah for General Scott,
The hero brave and true,
We'll place him there,
In the presidential chair,
For he's our nominee."

The speech was so incoherent and tempestuous at its opening, that Mr. Perry, editor of the Columbus, Ohio, State Journal, revised our joint notes, omitting expletives, so that the truly masterly vindication by General Scott, of his Mexican service, appeared in the November number of the American Whig Review of New York, greatly to his honor.

Mr. Perry introduced its first appearance at Columbus by the following editorial:

"Never have we witnessed a scene more imposing than when the old chieftain, with a quick and indignant response, repelled the false and malignant charge. Lofty in stature, and standing at least four inches above the tallest of those among whom he stood, his form seemed gigantic, as with heightened color and flashing eye, and a wave of his hand that expressed a calm defiance of all such assailants, he uttered his emphatic protest against such assaults as that paragraph represented."

GENERAL SCOTT'S ADDRESS.

"New, and before unknown to me, are such things as have been told me. They surprise and pain me. They at once concern all that I value personally, and aim a blow at all that wherein, if I know myself, I have the highest pride. They attack my own identity! The principles for which I had believed I need never search my own bosom in vain, are undermined, or denied me! I am met with charges of injustice and cruelty while leading an American army through Mexico, and while participating alike in its trials and its triumphs!

"Gentlemen, it was my lot to lead an American army upon a foreign field. I went, resolved to sustain, in the forefront of my progress the high-tide water mark of our own American civilization, in all its moral and civil virtue. The standard of our own, and not the practices of that foreign country, was the standard which I sought for the government of men's passions and the control of the license and excesses of war. Alike to Americans, whether native or of foreign birth, and to Mexicans, I declared my purpose, and exhibited my principles of action.

"I promulgated the martial code. Doubtless, you all have read it. I deemed it necessary. I could do nothing without it. It announced the spirit of our progress, and held amenable to punishment all who forgot manhood, and threatened to bring shame upon our flag — dishonor to our arms — or a reproach upon our virtue! Without it we had not conquered, or if we had conquered, the brightest trophy of our conquest had been

wanting. It would have been a physical triumph, and a physical triumph alone. Humanity would have disowned us. I promulgated that order. Read it, and read it again, gentlemen, and then bear me witness, that it was in my heart, as it was almost hourly on my lips, for continued months, to carry with American arms and under the American Flag, even into the enemies' country, all the elements of social order, and that regard for personal right that belonged to our own free institutions in the United States.

"Yes, I sought to carry with me, and resolved to maintain, at all hazards, among my own command, and also that people among whom we should be thrown, that high standard of virtue and honor which we boasted at home. Had I not been less than an American, and recreant to the highest interests of humanity, and the age we rejoice in, if I had done less? They say I hanged some Germans, and tied up and flogged others. Gentlemen, some persons were hanged in Mexico. The names of all of them I do not now recollect. Whether any were Germans or not, I know not. But for what — yes, for what were they hanged? I hanged one for murder, gentlemen; I hanged one for rape upon an innocent young female, and for profane and wicked church robbery. All knew the law that was over them. Every man of them knew that he would be held as answerable for vile misdeeds against the laws of God and man, as if he were then upon American soil.

"For such crimes they suffered — for such crimes as here, in your own Ohio — a land of law — would have brought down upon them severe penalties, and with equal justice. Some did suffer death! But their trial was fair, impartial, and upon the same principles of solid law upon which they would have been adjudged guilty here among you. Do some say I hanged fifteen Germans, and that others were arraigned and flogged without cause or trial? Gentlemen, I know nothing of it. It is false — it is a lie — an invention — gentlemen — a lie. I see aged citizens before me. I see eminent lawyers here. And, gentlemen, you see me much excited. But is it not for cause? For one who for fifty years has scarcely walked, rose, slept or eaten, or even taken a cup of cold water, in the field, the town, or the camp, but his thoughts were of his country — her virtue — her

renown — her honor; to be thus assailed — it is monstrous — it is intolerable! Gentlemen, I did, with a high hand, sustain the law, which, with uprightness in my heart, I determined to sustain. I did hang for murder! I did hang for rape! I did hang for treason! And I flogged thieves and pickpockets! For, gentlemen, let me again say, I not only carried with me, but I resolved with every resource I could command, to sustain fearlessly and effectually, in its virtue and in its choicest blessings, not only to my own command, but to the defenceless and peaceful Mexicans, that civilization, yes, that Christian civilization, of which I was proud to believe that army might appear a worthy representative.

"But, gentlemen, I was no respecter of persons. American or Mexican — native born or foreign born, whoever knew the law and obeyed it not — whoever, reckless of his own responsibilities and the rights of others, trampled under foot and set at naught the law that was over all, I punished. I did hang for the crimes stated, and I would have hung a hundred seekers of innocent blood, and violators of female chastity, if so many had been the offenders! And for this, perverted and misshaped, I am made answerable to a charge against which my every feeling revolts, and which my own nature and my own life repel. No, gentlemen, it is a lie, (the charge as made, or that they were wrongfully punished) a false and groundless lie. I am not unthankful to my good friend who has told me of these things. It was right.

"But, gentlemen, I stand here before you, and declare as I have already declared, and again declare, the principles that governed my command in Mexico are those of my life. To that life in my country's service I need not appeal in vain for an answer now. With equal freedom and confidence, do I throw myself upon the honest verdict of every man, who, with me, served his country in the fields of Mexico."

Enthusiasm pervaded the evening gatherings, and the banquet passed along until quite a late hour in its formal course.

Dr. Hamilton had advised me that the slain and wounded had been cared for, and both Mr. Dennison and Mr. Perry agreed with myself that the accident so far as possible should not enter into a record of the day's celebration.

Suddenly, late at the banquet, whispers as to an accident came near Gen. Scott's chair. By his side was Surgeon Gen. Gibson, his staff companion on his journey. Scott straightened himself up, "Did you hear that? What is it? About some accident today?" All at once he caught what I supposed he had never noticed, and said: "Did the stopping that salute mean anything?"

Secrecy was no longer possible. He broke down absolutely, like a weeping child. Even when accompanied to his room, it seemed as if he never would regain composure. He ordered his morning train from Cincinnati, en route to New Orleans, to be countermanded. He cried out: "It is one thing to lose an arm in battle, but, my God, no office in this world is worth a limb, much less a life! Why did you not tell me that the farce of a funeral procession, converted into a pretended jubilee of joy, was my fate today? It will kill me." Before midnight he became more composed and acceded to the suggestion that we go together at daybreak to the homes of the afflicted households.

At six o'clock the next morning, Robert Neil, Sr., accompanied us to the modest homes of the afflicted families in the fifth ward, the German ward of Columbus. Gen. Scott's great height compelled him to stoop on entrance, and with difficulty a chair was placed for his use. His first reception was cold and repulsive. The extent of the calamity was hardly realized in these homes. The gun squad of men I had personally known. The great soldier wept like a child. His anguish was so intense as not to be ignored. One little boy, standing between his knees, said: "Soldier, don't cry; you didn't do it." With each household he left a $20 gold piece, promised never to forget them, and he kept his promise.

From that date, Gen. Scott kept me supplied with military books, and on parting the next day, left me this memorandum, "Many a battle has been lost or won by silence, such as yours of yesterday, proving the wisdom of silence, when actual knowledge, would have been ruin. You ought to be in the army! You may be wanted. I'll never forget you." And he never did.

When at the opening of the Civil war a proposition was pending to add to the obliterated regular army, nine additional

regiments, of infantry, each of three battalions, of eight companies each, with an aggregate complement of 2,443 officers and men, he requested President Lincoln to give one of the Colonel's commissions to the Adjutant General of Ohio.

This request of Gen. Scott's was forwarded to myself, as approved by President Lincoln's cabinet, with the following official advice of Secretary S. P. Chase, "Why not accept this colonelcy, with the prospect of brigadiership?"

I declined the offer, because, already it had been designed to assign to me a South American or a southern European diplomatic position, on account of threatening lung troubles, that in 1855, almost cost my life.

To this declination came the rejoinder, "there are other services as valuable as those in the field. If you accept, your duties, as important, may not risk your health in immediate field service."

Not until June 24, 1861, did I accept the colonelcy of the 18th U. S. Infantry.

What followed? There was no regular infantry! All other new colonels were needed to command volunteer brigades, divisions or corps.

A western army "Camp of Enlistment and Instruction" was established in Ohio, called Camp Thomas, under the command of the colonel of the new 18th U. S. Infantry. Canby of the 19th, a native of Indiana, was in New Mexico. Indianapolis was made headquarters for recruits for that regiment. All regiments above the 14th, were to be raised and disciplined at the west, of which Camp Thomas was made the general headquarters.

To the 16th was assigned as a major, Sydney Coolidge, of Boston, Mass. To the 18th, as a major, was assigned Adjt. Gen. Frederick Townsend of New York, who resigned the colonelcy of his N. Y. regiment after the battle of Big Bethel, to accept this majority.

Col. W. T. Sherman of the 13th Infantry, as a general officer, was barely holding his own at Mudraugh's Hill, Kentucky. He was called "Crazy" in his estimate of forces intended for the war.

Senator Thomas Ewing of Ohio, Sherman's father-in-law,

came in person to Camp Thomas, at the general's request, that I support him at once. The war department declined. Gen. Mitchell at Cincinnati directly ordered me to join him with the 18th Infantry to "seize and occupy Cumberland Gap." The war department declined. But as early as May 7, general order No. 17, office of adjt. general of Ohio, (quoted, in foot note under heading 'Ohio,' vol. 1, 1861, Appleton's Encyclopedia), divided Ohio into districts of organization, at once, of a military reserve, of 1,000 companies (100 regiments) for probable service in the field during the year. Secretary Cameron had declined the offer of 50, instead of 13, the assigned quota, but approved the equipment of other regiments, then in camp, as they might be wanted.

That offer, bearing date April 23, 1861, reads as follows: (See War Records Page 104, vol. 1, series 111).

HEADQUARTERS OHIO MILITIA AND VOLUNTEER
MILITIA, ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
HON. S. CAMERON, COLUMBUS, APRIL 23, 1861.
*Secretary of War*:

We have nothing from you since dispatch not to forward, etc. We are urgent that a requisition for the Kentucky quota reach us soon. We have the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Regiments raised and can make the force 50,000 men. I speak upon due reflection and upon the figures. I shall organize six or eight regiments additional to our quota and put them under drill at any event, and the feeling is so intense that I do not limit the number. We will learn much by—; Edward Ball (see 104, as above) left this a. m. We have corn for the year, whether we plant much or not and could never so well meet the issues of war. When the order is "Advance," Ohio will go to the Gulf if need be. Yours, etc.,

HENRY B. CARRINGTON,
*Adjutant-General.*

The following reply of Secretary Cameron appears on page 124, War Records, same volume and series:

Secretary Cameron to Col. Carrington, Columbus, O., April 27, 1861:

"WAR DEPT., WASHINGTON, APRIL 27, 1861.

COL. H. B. CARRINGTON, *Columbus, O.*

DEAR SIR:—I have yours of the 23d inst., and would tender you, as I have already done to His Excellency, the Governor of Ohio, the

thanks of this department, for the promptness and energy with which you have met the call of the government. I regret that, according to the plan adopted and under which this department is acting, we can only accept for the quota first called for from Ohio. You will do well however, in organizing and drilling other regiments, so as to be prepared to meet any emergency that may arise.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) SIMON CAMERON, *Sec. of War.*"

This address as "Col." at that early date was left for later solution.

Of all these facts, Gen. Scott, as well as the president and his cabinet, had full knowledge. In fact, the first two regiments of the thirteen assigned to Ohio left for Washington, within sixty hours after receipt of President Lincoln's first call; and these regiments were made up by telegrams sent at midnight, or by personal calls when nearby, of the very best companies of the organized and well drilled state militia.

As a fact, nine of these regiments had to be sent into West Virginia, and their battery had appeared in the Battle of Phillipi before mustering officers could be secured to muster into service the Ohio Volunteer proper, then in Camp Dennison, awaiting muster. (See Rebellion Records, Series III, Vol. 1, page 124, dated April 27, 1861.)

This "Light Battery" of the State Militia, then known as "Barnett's," had been long organized by Capt. David L. Wood, quartermaster general of Ohio from 1857 to 1861. During a trip to Niagara, fully mounted, it was there reviewed by Gen. Scott, who pronounced its practice to "closely vie with that of Ringold's of the regular army." Wood was appointed a captain of the 18th Infantry, instead of artillery, which, owing to his personal weight and age, made foot service impracticable for him to take up Infantry movements.

The battery went into service under the following order:

COLUMBUS, O., APRIL 20, 1861.

COL. JAMES BARNETT, *Cleveland, O.*

Report your six pieces, caissons, and full battery, including the Geneva company, at Columbus, forthwith, Monday, if possible. You can hire horses for the guns here, or at your point of service. Bring

harness and everything else. Twenty men to each gun. You retain Colonel's rank. By order,

H. B. CARRINGTON, *Adjutant General.*

A foundry was opened on Sunday, and round shot were cast. Ladies left church to make powder bags. Powder was brought from Xenia. When Barnett's battery entered the Columbus Railroad Station, Pres. Israel Andrews of Marietta College and Rufus Putnam, one of its trustees, were at the depot, about to call upon Gov. Dennison and beg for artillery. Without leaving the depot they went home with the battery and it was planted on the heights back of Parkersburg at midnight, just in time to repel the advancing Confederate forces, which were pursued and routed at Phillipi.

It is needless to add that James Barnett as a major general of Volunteers, still shares the respect of the American people hardly less than any general officer who bore part in military service during the years from 1861-1865.

Catherinus P. Buckingham, of Mt. Vernon, Ohio, and a graduate of West Point, had been appointed Assist Adjt.-General of Ohio, but by special arrangement of the War Department, Col. Carrington was to retain office until the first 26 regiments were organized.

His lengthy official report to Secretary Cameron, dated June 21st, 1861, of all forces organized under his personal supervision, appears on pages 288 and 289, Official War Records, Series III, Volume I.

On page 357, same volume, appears letter from Adjt.-Gen. L. Thomas, U. S. A., bearing date July 27, 1861, fully setting forth the services of the nine regiments of Ohio state troops and Col. Barnett's artillery of six guns, which had served in West Virginia before the Ohio Volunteers could be placed in the field.

On pages 387 and 393, dated August 3 and August 8 (same volume) appear communications as to the delay of the Government in supplying mustering officers.

During these months, at Camp Thomas, itself, every condition incident to a sudden call to the field was maintained, even as to city absences, or long absence from camp.

By request of Gov. Tod, an incipient oubreak from Camp Chase, by prisoners of war, was reduced to order, and a detachment of the 18th, sent to that camp, was soon withdrawn. An official report was made of the incident to the governor, immediately.

The first battalion of the 16th, Maj. Sydney Coolidge, of Boston, afterwards killed at Chickamauga, was taken by Col. Carrington, in November, to Louisville and turned over to the division of Gen. Mitchell. Two battalions of the 18th, at the same time, were delivered by Col. Carrington to Gen. Thomas at Lebanon, Ky., and to these were added the 9th and 35th Ohio, and the 2d Minn., as a Brigade, under his command. Emergencies required that he first complete his recruiting service at the west, and the next senior colonel took his brigade into the Battle of Mill Springs, Ky.

To return to the subject of this sketch.

Upon learning of the progress made in the organization of the 18th U. S. Infantry, Gen. Scott invited its colonel to his headquarters at Washington.

On the day that Munson Heights was occupied by Confederate troops and when Massachusetts avenue was crowded by double trains of bread wagons, passing to the Federal Capital, the national bakery for the time being, Gen. Scott, over his personal signature issued a special order, in my favor, directing all post commanders and other officers then preparing for defence of the capital, to give the bearer full respect in his inspections of fortifications and disciplinary movements of the army. Its date was Sept. 25, 1861. All forts east of the Aqueduct were visited, as well as the "Sheleton Drills" of regiment, brigade, and division movements in "Evolutions of the Line."

Enlargement of the recruiting service on Bragg's invasion of Kentucky, in 1862, involved the personal organization, equipment, and paying bounty of all Indiana volunteers; and, upon my immediate promotion as Brig. Gen. of Volunteers, the protection of the Ohio river border for fully three years, when I rejoined Gen. Thomas, until he left Kentucky for the Pacific coast; and then, my own regiment, recruited to its maximum strength, in Sept. 1865, was ordered to the defence of the In-

dian frontier. During its existence, as a three battalion regiment, it included an aggregate of 4,773 men. Having the appointment of all second lieutenants, I enlisted educated young men with scrupulous care. Several attained the rank of brigadier general. I mention three. The first recruit of the 18th Infantry was Henry B. Freeman, now brigadier general retired. Another, Gilbert S. Carpenter, a student of Western Reserve College, became colonel of his regiment during the Spanish American War, and at his death, was on the army list as a brigadier general retired. A third, John Hitchcock, son of the president of the Western Reserve College, then but a young lieutenant, gave his life for the flag, in the battle of Stone River.

In the aggregate of Special Recruiting Service, more than 120,000 men were duly organized and placed in the field for immediate active duty.

When I left Gen. Scott in 1861, to return to Camp Thomas, his parting words, afterwards more than once recalled to my memory by his favorite A.D.C., then A.A.G. who became later adjutant general of the army, Col. E. D. Townsend, (who countersigned Gen. Scott's special order) were simply these:

"You are my own colonel, and I knew you would do it."

He was a "great soldier with a great heart," and his manuscript duty-detail, above noticed, has to myself and family, a value as if it were a gold medal rather than as a great soldier's simple expression of his implicit confidence and sincere respect.

## RUSSEL BIGELOW, THE PIONEER PULPIT ORATOR.

BY N. B. C. LOVE, D. D.

### THE CAMP MEETING.

The rough homespun attire of primal days
He wore as he proclaimed the Words of Truth,
And held spellbound the aged and the youth,
Leading them into heaven's brilliant rays.
His soul on fire, his words fell with power,
Radiant as from the mind of God;
Alive as if blooming on Aaron's rod,
And as if ordained for this special hour.
Bright the summer day and vast the crowd,
And cool the sylvan shade beneath the trees,
Sweet the songs wafted by the gentle breeze,
As sung by the worshippers, grand and loud.
Divine the message by a mortal man,
While his ardent zeal his strength far outran.

Then came men inspired by God,
Enthused with their calling high,
The wildwood paths they firmly trod,
With their kind Master ever nigh.

Not thoughts of gold, nor ease, nor fame,
Nor vain ambition to be known,
With names placed on the scroll of fame,
Had their good motives overthrown.

Russel Bigelow as a pulpit orator had no equal among his contemporaries. His pre-eminence was recognized by them, and the people, too, of all denominations were of the same opinion.

Fifty years ago the preachers who had known him in the days of his strength, were enthusiastic in their praise. Among these were Drs. L. B. Gurley, Alfred Brunson and E. C. Gavitt, and who have also in their published autobiographies told of his great ability.

The late Bishop Edward Thomson gives the fullest sketch of Bigelow as a speaker. In 1829 Dr. Thomson was a young practicing physician in Norwalk, Ohio. Upon urgent invitation of some of his friends, he heard Mr. Bigelow at a Camp Meeting a few miles distant. And so powerfully was he impressed with the intelligence, logic and pathos of the preacher, and of the truth of his utterances, that he was led to embrace Christianity and united with the Methodist Church. He was an Englishman, and was brought up an Episcopalian, but had yielded to sceptical doubts and was no longer interested in his church.

Russel Bigelow.

In 1847 the Bishop wrote an excellent sketch of Bigelow's life and character. In it, his graphic style, tells of his visit to the Camp Meeting, of going across the country in a carriage, and the entrancing scenery. He says, "The sun was shining from a cloudless sky and the fresh breezes fanned us as we rode by well cultivated fields, waving with their rich and ripening harvests. After a short journey we came to the encampment. A broad beam of daylight, in the forest, showed things to advantage; and I could but think as I gazed from an elevated point, and drank in the sweet songs that reverberated through the grove, of some of the scenes of the Scriptures. My rebel heart was constrained to cry within me, 'How goodly are Thy Tents, O Jacob, and Thy Tabernacles, O Israel! As the valleys are they spread forth: as gardens by the riverside.'"

Dr. Thomson says further of Bigelow as he saw him this beautiful August morning: "Never was I so disappointed in a man's personal appearance. He was below middle stature and clad in coarse, ill-made garments. His hair hung loosely over his forehead. His attitudes and motions were exceedingly ungraceful, and every feature of his countenance was unprepos-

sessing. Upon minutely examining him, however, I became better pleased.

"The long hair that came down to his cheeks concealed a broad and prominent forehead; the keen eye that peered from beneath his heavy and over-jutting eyebrows beamed with deep and penetrating intelligence; while the wide mouth depressed at the corners, the slightly expanded nostril and the *tout ensemble,* indicated sorrow and love, and well assorted with the message, 'Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden and I will give you rest.' As he announced this Scripture as his text, I was determined to watch for his faults.

"Before he had gone through his introduction, I discovered his words were pure and well chosen, his accents never misplaced, his sentences grammatical, artistically constructed; both for harmony and effect; and when he enterd fully upon his subject I was disposed to resign myself to the argument and leave the speaker in the hands of more skillful critics.

"Having stated and illustrated his position clearly, he laid broad the foundation of his argument, and piled stone upon stone, hewn and polished, till he stood upon a majestic pyramid, with heaven's own light around him, pointing the astonished multitude to a brighter home beyond the sun, and bidding defiance to the enemy to move one fragment of the rock on which his feet were planted.

"His argument being completed, his peroration commenced. This was grand beyond description. The whole universe seemed animated by its Creator in aiding him in persuading the sinner to return to God, and the angels commissioned to open heaven and come down to strengthen him.

"Now he opens the mouth of the pit and takes us through its gloomy avenues, while the bolts retreat, and the doors of damnation burst open, and the wail of the lost enter our ears; and now he opens heaven, transports us to the flowery plains, stands us amid the armies of the blest to sweep, with celestial fingers, angelic harps and join the eternal chorus, 'Worthy, worthy is the Lamb!'

"As he closed his discourse, every energy of his body and mind was stretched to the utmost point of tension. His soul ap-

peared to be too great for its tenement, and every moment ready to burst through and soar away as an eagle toward heaven. His lungs labored, his arms rose, the perspiration dropped upon the floor, and everything around him seemed to say; 'O, that my head were waters!' But the audience thought not of the struggling body, nor even of the giant mind within; for they were paralyzed beneath the avalanche of thought that had descended upon them. I, too, lost the speaker, but the sermon was all in

THE PATHFINDER.
*From a Painting by N. B. C. Love.*

all. I returned home from the grounds dissatisfied with myself, saying within me, 'O, that I were a Christian.'"

Dr. Edward Thomson, D. D., LL. D., and Bishop of the M. E. Church, whom I quote, is certainly good authority.

From Dr. L. B. Gurley, and many others who heard Bigelow often, I received verbally and substantially the same testimony to his unparalleled eloquence and ability as a great theologian; liberal in his views, and pulpit orator.

An eminent judge, having heard him often, said: "Had I never known him I should have loved him for the effects of his apostolic labors and holy life."

Bigelow is represented as a preacher, "Correct in taste, in the management of his illustrations, and in the sources of his arguments. While his favorite themes embraced the great doctrines of Christianity, requiring deep thought and the fullest use of his reasoning powers, yet at times his sermons were replete with glowing descriptions and apt illustrations, drawn from nature and its teachings."

I have heard laymen when old, tell of some of these wonderful sermons Bigelow preached at the camp meetings on the shores of Lake Erie near Sandusky, and other places, when they were young. Many years had not dimmed their memories of the impressions made.

He did not limit himself to a few themes, but prepared and preached upon a great many. He was less in want of sermons than in opportunities to preach them. When he could have gotten through with thirty sermons in a year, he was known to have preached a hundred new ones.

A lawyer, member of the Episcopal Church, living in a city where Bigelow preached, even after disease had made inroads upon him, said:

"I never heard him without becoming a wiser and better man."

Russel Bigelow was born in southeastern New Hampshire, February 24th, 1793, and died July 1st, 1835. He was converted when nine years old. His name, Russel, is sacred to this family, and spelled with only one *l*. This spelling had been handed down for several generations.

He was while a boy instrumental in the conversion of his father, and was in his adolescent days, as well as early manhood, an example to all. Industry, obedience, honesty, kindness and good cheer were leading characteristics.

He was a gifted child, learning easily in the subscription school of the neighborhood, and in his home taught by a mother well versed in the Scriptures. When he was six years old he could read remarkably well for a child of his age. He loved the

Bible, and as he passed through the adolescent period he learned the Scriptures well. The few books of the home and the neighborhood he read, treasuring their contents. His Scotch Irish mother, no doubt, saw to it that he had good reading, such as was found at that time in Scotch Presbyterian and Episcopal homes.

Among Bigelow's manuscripts and letters I find the following list of books purchased, not only for himself, but for sale. They were purchased at the Methodist Book Concern in Cincinnati not long after its establishment. Dr. Martin Rutter, the first agent, was in charge. With this bill of books is a personal letter to Mr. Bigelow by Dr. Rutter.

"Feb. 6th 1826

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Russel Bigelow Dr. to the Book Concern; To | | |
| To one set of Benson's Commentaries.... | | $33.00 |
| " 3 — Walker's Dictionary ..... | $2.50 each | $ 7.50 |
| " 3 — Copies Life of Lee..... | .75 " | $ 2.25 |
| " 4 — Lives of Fletcher..... | 1.12½ " | $ 4.50 |
| "40 — Copies Father's Advice..... | 6½ " | $ 2.50 |
| " 6 — Family Adviser ..... | .62½ " | $ 3.75 |
| " 6 — ..... | 1.00 " | $ 6.00 |
| "10 — Hymn Books ..... | .75 " | $ 7.50 |
| "22 — " " Calf ..... | .87½ " | $19.25 |
| " 6 — Watson's Apology ..... | .50 " | $ 3.00 |
| " 6 — Murray's Small Grammar..... | .12½ " | .75 |
| " 6 — Oliver's Refutation ..... | .37½ " | 2.25 |
| " 1 — Set Laurin's Sermons ..... | | $ 7.87½ |
| Brought forward..... | | $82.10¼ |
| To 3 — doz. Spelling books..... | | 3.00 |
| Total..... | | $85.10¼ |

Other than the business part of Dr. Rutter's letter, there are 250 words of a friendly and personal character, showing friendship by this scholarly man for Mr. Bigelow, then a young presiding elder.

Mr. Bigelow had ordered Adam Clarke's Commentary on the Bible, in six volumes, and Watson's Institutes, but "the supply was exhausted and could not be had from N. York until the Ohio River was navigable from Pittsburg."

The manuscripts of Mr. Bigelow, which I have, and letters

from his Grandsons, Dr. Russel B. Pope, Rev. Thomas J. Pope, Dr. P. P. Pope and his daughter, Mrs. Lucy Armstrong, give many interesting incidents connected with Mr. Bigelow's appearance and manner in public life, and in his private life.

Mr. Bigelow's mouth was one sided. The muscles did not move evenly, and so he preached from one side of his mouth. He was preaching at a camp meeting with great eloquence, when the vast audience arose, a woman with a strong voice cried out: "My Lord! where would we be if he should open both sides of his mouth at once?"

Bigelow was returning from a camp meeting where the rowdies had been a great annoyance, when he overtook a large company of them on foot going to their homes. They were singing camp meeting songs, and shouting in imitation of the more demonstrative Christians. They saw him approaching, and agreed among themselves that they would banter him to preach them a sermon.

When thus accosted he said in his kindest tones; "Gentlemen, it is always a privilege I appreciate to preach to attentive hearers. Will you all pledge to listen to me?"

They all promised. He dismounted his horse and hitched him to a sapling, and with book in hand he made a large stump his pulpit.

They listened respectfully and attentively. He made no personal allusions, but with all seriousness preached the Gospel just as he would have done if thousands were before him. The power of God accompanied the word. They were held spellbound. Most of the company fell to their knees and plead with God for mercy. Bigelow knelt with them, and earnestly prayed for them. Most of those jovial light-hearted young backwoodsmen went to their homes on the farms and in the villages, to unite with the church, and to become leaders in the cause of Christ.

Bigelow never governed by the use of physical force, or intimidation with words, but by tact and kindness. He left the incorrigibles for such preachers as Finley, Gilruth and Cartright to manage.

In deportment he was always a gentleman; to those above,

respectful, and to the humblest kind and brotherly. He was no respecter of persons. In him, each person he met had a friend and brother. He was conscious of his ability, and fearless, but never arrogant, egotistic or overbearing. He was honored by his brethren who knew him best. He filled all the offices of the ministry with honor lower than the bishopric. This he would have filled had his healh and life continued. He was a delegate to the General Conference.

We learn from his private papers and from members of his family that there were among his coadjutors ministers in every way better fitted for the missionary work among the heathen than he; while with his pulpit power he could have been more useful in preaching to the thousands of emigrants pouring into Ohio. His friends claimed that his advancement was defeated by several ministers in auhority, who were jealous of his popularity, and feared he might be in their way of promotion. All of the pioneer preachers were not free from wordly ideas of promotion, no more than ministers at present.

This opinion was in the head and heart of this great and good man, so that it proved an injury to his health. Not that he was seeking place and power prompted by vain ambition, but by the desire of building up the Kingdom of God. He felt that his calling was of God to preach the Gospel to the many, as Paul wished to preach it "in Rome also." He knew that only a few ministers were self-seeking, while the great majority were unselfish men of God.

In this unfairness of several men in power, we see an overruling Providence. He did great good among the children of the forest, who loved him and his family dearly. His name as Circuit Rider, Station Preacher, Missionary, Presiding Elder, and First Chaplain to the Ohio Penitentiary, shall live forever in the annals of Ohio pioneer days, both of church and state.

He was alike helpful to rich and poor, white, black and red. Was retiring but fearless when duty called. During the Cholera pestilence in Columbus he did not save himself, but was found with the sick and dying. Conscious as he must have been of his ability, yet he was modest and unassuming, neither diffi-

dent nor presumptuous. He was reliable and true in all departments of life.

Bigelow was an extemporaneous speaker. Rev. Thomas J. Pope, his Grandson, placed in care of the writer quite a quantity of manuscript, in which there were brief outlines of sermons, and discussions of dogmatics. He was a theologician and a student of the Bible. He believed in the inward enlightenment of the believer in Christ, as a Divine Saviour, and to all such there comes a God consciousness. He had this. His preaching was in power and authority. While his manuscripts are incomplete, yet they evince deep logical thought. Had his best sermons been faithfully reported by a stenographer, he would have ranked alongside the best of the American pulpit orators of his times. If space would permit I could give selections from his manuscript which would add to his reputation as a thinker.

When in failing health he preached at a camp meeting in Eastern Ohio by the consent of his physicians, who sat near him with watches in their hands, and were to call him down in twenty minutes, but were so carried away that they forgot all about the time, so that he preached two hours, when exhausted, he fell to the platform, which aroused the doctors. Of course, the audience was spellbound.

The secret of his oratorical power was according to Dr. E. Thomson, who heard him often in the city and country, that "he felt all he said: it was not his personality, his articulation, his voice or enunciation; in none of these did he excel. Nor the splendor of his style; in this he was as to Plato as a star to the sun; nor his power of reasoning; in his penetration and analysis he was a child to Socrates, *it was his deep feeling.*"

His extraordinary labors, immense enthusiasm, and untiring zeal coupled with hereditary pulmonary weakness undermined his vitality, and at forty-one he was broken in health, and had what would now be called nervous prostration. Temporarily he retired from the active pastorate and moved to a little farm near Mansfield, Ohio. Here he endured the keenest physical and mental anguish. He had to contend against the profoundest melancholy. Here before him was hard physical labor, which he had not the strength to perform. His condition was sad

enough. Little money, no income, poor health, and a wife and five children to support. In a letter written at this time, October 17th, 1834, Mansfield, Ohio, to his friend, Rev. John Janes, he says:

"Dear Bro.: I shall at your request trouble you with a scrawl — I am in the land of the *dying* trying to journey to the land of the *living*. I am feeling some better and traveling some, and in weakness of body preaching occasionally.

"My friends tell me I look better than when I came to Mansfield, but they know not my miseries. My weight has increased a little. I weighed some days ago 134 lbs., six pounds less than my normal weight. I have many singular feelings, a good deal of distress in my stomach and unrest. My mind is a good deal confused etc. My lungs are certainly very weak. I am trying to sink into the will of God, and dismiss all anxious solicitude, *but I find it exceedingly* difficult. O for grace. Help me by your prayers.

"The kindness of friends in your region has assisted me much. I have several little debts to pay, and I will have a good deal of provisions to buy. It is an affliction to be a *kind of pauper,* but it is fortunate to have friends in time of need.

"I confess I have less objection than formerly to preachers laying up for a rainy day but it is well we who are in the ministry guard against worldliness."

John Janes, to whom he was writing, was a Presiding Elder, with a wife and four children, whose home was a double log cabin.

Bigelow was like hundreds of his brethren in Ohio and other parts of the then western country, in straitened circumstances, and compelled to locate, or become superannuated and go on the "Pauper list." They all found it hard to be paupers. And indeed since Bigelow's day until the last General Conference, the conference claimant was looked upon by only too many pastors and people as the subject of charity.

The last General Conference placed the conference claimant on a parity with claims of bishops, district superintendents, and pastors, and being placed in the same class, entitled to a salary sufficient for a comfortable support. Out of this Budget these

four classes are to paid their several salaries pro rata. The meager support has been discreditable to our great and wealthy Methodism. While the new arrangement is an honor to the laity and pastorate.

While living on his farm he gained in health. Some of his prominent friends interested themselves, and secured his appointment by the Ohio Penitentiary Trustees to the Chaplaincy. This was in 1835. Robert Lucas was Governor, and he gave it his hearty approval. The board elected him unanimously. He reported and took his place, and preached to the spirits in prison. He gave this work his remaining energy. He preached quite often, and did a great amount of personal work with the unfortunate prisoners. His sermons were a great help to the management, in that he awakened the conscience of many, inspiring them to a better life. But his strength gave away; dysentery prostrated him. His wife was sent for at Mansfield. She reached his bedside barely in time to see him die, and was the only member of his family present at his death.

He was buried in the Methodist Preachers' lot in the old cemetery. Some years ago his remains were removed and interred in Greenlawn Cemetery. Over the grave lies a long slab. At first it rested on neat stone pillars, but these have been taken away, and the tombstone lies on the grave. It has a lengthy epitaph. It is the full length of the grave.

There is nothing more touching in the history of Bigelow than his children in the home waiting the return of the mother, knowing full well they should never more see their loving father, and meeting with the weeping and disconsolate mother, knowing of the burden of care and poverty that would rest upon her.

She refused to have the children separated, and managed to feed, clothe and educate them well.

# WASHINGTON'S OHIO LANDS.

BY E. O. RANDALL,

*Secretary Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society.*

On June 15, 1775, the Continental Congress passed the enactment establishing the Continental army and after fixing the pay of the commander-in-chief at five hundred dollars a month proceeded, by ballot, to elect that officer. Washington was unanimously chosen and this result was formally announced to him on the next day, when the newly elected general had taken his seat. Rising in his place, with the modesty and dignity so characteristic of him, he "briefly expressed his high and grateful sense of the honor conferred upon him and his sincere devotion to the cause;" declaring with sincerity his lack of fitness for the responsible position, and then added, "as to pay, I beg leave to assure Congress that, as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept this arduous employment, at the expense of my domestic ease and happiness, I do not wish to make any profit out of it. I will keep an exact account of my expenses. Those I doubt not, they will discharge and that is all I desire." To that decision Washington faithfully adhered. Not only did he refuse the salary, which might have been his, amounting in the aggregate to $48,000, but he further relinquished also the land bounty, to which as general-in-chief he was entitled, from Virginia, viz., 23,333.33 acres, which would have been worth at the time he might have received them, ten dollars an acre, aggregating therefore $233,333.33. Thus the United States received from General Washington his services and gifts of the value of $281,333, or more than half the estate of which he died, seized, which estate, including both personal and real property, he himself estimated not long before his death, at over half a million dollars.

When the French and Indian War arose the royal colonial governor of Virginia, in order to encourage enlistments, offered

grants of land from Virginia's western lands to those who would serve in the war. In accordance with this bounty promise, the Virginia governor on December 7, 1763, issued a land warrant to one captain John Rootes, for 3,000 acres of land, locatable on the lands of the colony northwest of the Ohio River. On February 14, 1774, General George Washington, who had become a large purchaser of land bounties, bought this warrant of John Rootes and took an assignment thereof.

On March 1, 1784, Virginia ceded to the United States all her lands northwest of the Ohio River, but reserving that part of Ohio lying between the Little Miami and the Scioto rivers, from a line between their respective sources to the Ohio River, this section was known as the Virginia Military District of Ohio; it comprised 6,570 square miles and 4,504,800 acres of land and was thus reserved for the sole purpose of satisfying the bounties promised by Virginia to her officers and soldiers who had served either in the colonial or Continental army during the Revolutionary War. Not a foot of this land was ever sold by Virginia or the United States government, but it was located on warrants issued to Virginia officers and soldiers of the continental line, their heirs and assigns. The bounty recipients or their assignees securing their warrants, had their locations and surveys made and assumed possession. This went on until January 1, 1852, when Congress, by law, declared all titles forfeited, the surveys of which had not been returned to the land office at Washington, prior to the date of this act. In August of the same year (1852), at the request of Virginia, the national Congress passed a law by which the outstanding Virginia Military Bounty Land Warrants yet unsatisfied, could be exchanged for United States land scrips — good for location in the far west. This discharged in good faith, Virginia's pledges to her colonial veterans, which pledges the federal government guaranteed when accepting the cession of the Northwest Territory by Virginia.

We cannot go into the intricacies of the legislation by Congress, at various times, or the entanglements of rights growing out of frauds, neglects, mistakes and over-lapping locations by the holders of land entries, warrants, etc. But we may add that the Virginia Military District was the subject of national

legislation until February, 1871, when it was represented to Congress that there were some 40,000 acres of land in the Virginia Military District, which through errors, mislapping or incorrect surveys, incomplete registration, etc., had never been actually located and hence still belonged to the federal government, though occupied by squatters or non-titled settlers. Congress then by act ceded this surplus or orphan land to the State of Ohio, which at once accepted the same and turned it over for the benefit and use of the Ohio State University. Various other Congressional acts, pertinent to the legal settlement of disputes concerning the Virginia Military District lands, were passed, one even as late as 1899.

But we revert to the Washington claim.

In addition to the John Rootes claim, which Washington purchased, he bought, after the close of the Revolution and prior to the summer of 1787, a warrant of 100 acres of land issued to one Thomas Cope, for services in the Continental line of the Revolutionary army. In the summer of 1787, Washington placed these Rootes and Cope warrants in the hands of Colonel John O'Bannon, a deputy surveyor of the Virginia Military District, northwest of the Ohio river. Colonel O'Bannon, on said warrants, made the following entries of land:

On January 17, 1788 (No. 1650), 839 acres in what is now Franklin township, Clermont county, Ohio; on May 13, 1788 (No. 1765), 1235 acres on the Little Miami River, three and one half miles above the mouth of its east fork, in what is now Miami township, Clermont county, Ohio. These two entries were made on the Rootes warrant (No. 3753) for the 3,000 acres. On May 12, 1788, Colonel O'Bannon entered for Washington (No. 1775) for 977 acres; 848 acres of which are located in Union township, Clermont county, and 129 acres in what is now Anderson township, Hamilton county; 926 acres, of the above (977) were made on warrant No. 3750, for 3,000 acres and 51 acres were made on the Thomas Cope warrant for 100 acres,—the remaining 49 acres of the Cope warrant do not seem to have ever been located or surveyed. Washington thus secured in all 3,051 acres.

On April 4, 1788, there was made for Washington, survey No. 1650, for 839 acres on the entry numbered 1650; on May 26, 1788, there was made for him survey No. 1775, on the entry of that number for 977 acres; and on May 27, 1788, there was made for Washington, a survey No. 1765, on his entry of that number for 1,235 acres.

These three entries and surveys, made by Colonel John O'Bannon, were duly recorded in the books of Colonel Richard C. Anderson, then the surveyor of the Virginia Military District of Ohio, whose office was at Louisville, Ky., and who had served in the American Revolution as aide-de-camp to Lafayette, and was the father of Major Robert Anderson, commanding at Fort Sumter, April 1861, and of Charles Anderson, who as lieutenant governor succeeded to the governorship of Ohio, upon the death of governor John Brough, in August, 1865. These entries and surveys were made under a law of the State of Virginia enacted in October, 1783, and General Washington and his agents were under the impression that the warrants, entries and surveys, before mentioned, should for that reason, be returned to the land office of the State of Virginia at Richmond, which was done, sometime prior to April 20, 1790. The Virginia authorities issued the grants, which might be called the patents, at any rate. Washington now supposed he was secure in the title and possession of his Ohio lands.

At this juncture an interfering law crossed the path of Washington's title. The ceding by Virginia (1784) to the United States, of its northwest lands, reserving the Military District for the Virginia Revolutionary veterans, really left the fulfillment of Virginia's pledges to be worked out through the machinery of the federal government. On August 10, 1790, the federal congress passed a law, on this subject, providing in substance: that the lands located between the Little Miami and Scioto rivers should be applied as agreed upon in the Virginia cession and reservation; that the secretary of war should make return to the executive of the state of Virginia, the names of soldiers entitled to Virginia bounty lands, who had not yet received warrants; those thus entitled to and therefore locating lands in the Military District should report their locations and surveys

to the secretary of state at Washington, where they should be recorded; the president of the United States was then authorized to issue letters patent to the persons entitled to receive the same; it was then the duty of the secretary of state to transmit these letters patent to the executive of the state of Virginia, who was in turn to deliver them to the grantees.

Washington as president of the United States signed this law apparently without noticing or understanding that it affected the title to his Ohio lands, which title he should have perfected by recording, as provided, at the office of the secretary of state in Washington. Washington's locations and surveys had been reported only to the Virginia land office in Richmond. He still thought that was sufficient. He should have at once complied with this law by submitting his warrants to the requirements therein provided. On December 1, 1790, grants were made by Beverly Randolph, then governor of Virginia, to Washington for each of his three surveys, under the belief, that, according to the terms of the reservation, it was incumbent on the State of Virginia to thus complete the title.

The entries and surveys above mentioned were well known, at the time, to the locators and surveyors in the Virginia Military District of Ohio and also the fact that they were made on a "resolution" warrant. The warrants of Washington were those purchased from Rootes who was entitled to them for services in the French and Indian War and not the American Revolution. The Virginia Military District of Ohio was reserved for bounties accruing to Revolutionary veterans.

Were Washington's assignments from Rootes good in the territory so reserved? We revert to the proceedings of the legislature of Virginia, which on January 5, passed a joint resolution providing that all persons who had served in the army of the United States from May 1, 1779, until the close of the war between Great Britain and America and had a land warrant in his own right, or by assignment, before May 1, 1779, issued agreeable to the proclamation of the King of Great Britain in 1763 — which confirmed the promise of Virginia to the soldiers of the French and Indian War — might exchange the same with the register of the land office for a warrant, which he should be

permitted to locate on vacant land, reserved on the western side of the Ohio River, for officers and soldiers in the Continental army. This "resolution" was supposed to cure any defect that Washington's warrants and locations might have had. Hence Washington's warrants were called "resolution" warrants.

That Washington regarded his titles as secure and believed his Ohio lands as valuable and promising is evidenced by him in an advertisement to sell, published in the *Columbian Mirror and Alexandria Gazette,* February 20, 1796, viz.:

"On the Little Miami, upper side, within a mile of the Ohio, 830 acres; about seven miles up the said Miami, 977 acres, and ten miles from the mouth thereof, 12,235 acres. Total on the Little Miami, 3,042 acres." These lots, he further states, "are near to if not adjoining (the river only separating them) the grant made to Judge Syms [Symmes] and others, between the two Miamis; and being in the neighborhood of Cincinnati and Fort Washington, cannot, from their situation (if the quality of the soil is correctly stated) be otherwise than valuable."

Then came another "cloud" as foreshadowed by the following letters, the originals of which are now on file in the Library of Congress:

MOUNT VERNON, 30th July, 1798.

RICHARD C. ANDERSON, ESQ.,

SIR: — In the course of the last winter a Mr. Massey passed through Alexandria on his way to Philadelphia and reported at the former place that I should lose my land in the North West Territory on the Little Miami.

Not perceiving how this could happen fairly, and not supposing that it could be taken from me otherwise, without allowing me a hearing, I paid but little attention to the report until Mr. George Graham called on me the other day and in conversation on this subject gave it as his opinion that the land was in real jeopardy by re-entry under some error in the former proceedings, and advised me to write to you relative thereto.

This I now do under full conviction, however, that as the former surveys were made under your auspices; examined and recorded in your office; and patents granted thereupon in the year 1790 with the following recital. "In consideration of a military warrant of 3000 acres granted to John Rootes by Lord Dunmore the 7th December, 1773 and assigned by the said Rootes unto George Washington the 14th of February 1774 and exchanged by a resolution of general assembly,

passed the 30th of December, 1784, for a warrant of 3000 acres No. 3753 and dated the 14th of February 1785." I say under full conviction that you would not suffer the land to be wrested from me by any subsequent transaction in your office without giving me notice thereof in time to assert my prior claims, I now give you the trouble of this address, adding at the same time if anything is necessary on my part to give more validity or greater legality to former proceedings, I am willing to encounter the expense than enter into a tedious and expensive chancery suit which I assuredly shall do before my property shall be taken from me.

I would thank you Sir for full information, and your advice relative to this matter as soon as it is convenient.

Most Obet. Hble. Servt.,
Go. Washington.

Jefferson County, near Louisville,
September 5th, 1798.

Sir:—

Yours of the 30th of July I have the honor to receive and cannot conceive from what circumstances Mr. Massie or Mr. Graham could found an opinion that your military claim was in the least danger, no other entry as yet to my knowledge having been made on the same ground. It is probable, however, that the opinion was founded on a resolution of Congress which was intended to prevent those; who from the time of service are not entitled to lands; but from the liberality of the state of Virginia obtained warrants by resolution of the assembly, but, as this in my mind was not your case, yours being exchanged by a resolution of Assembly, I did not trouble your excellency with the conjectures of a few on that head; and you may rest assured should any attempt be made in this office, by entry or otherwise that I shall take the liberty of giving you immediate notice thereof. And as it is a matter of consequence, as I am informed yours are valuable lands. Provided you think there can be the least danger from the lands being laid in consequence of a resolution warrant that you make yourself acquainted with that particular circumstance and if you think it in danger to send out other warrants to cover its place.

With much respect and esteem, I have the honor to be,

Sir Your most
Ob. Servant.
Richard C. Anderson.

Washington made his will on July 9, 1799, and at that time was under the belief that his title to his Ohio land was unassailable. With his will he prepared an inventory of his estate and

sundry notes descriptive of his property for his executors; the item naming these lands was as follows:

NORTH WEST TERRITORY.

| | |
|---|---|
| On Little Miami ..... | 839 |
| On Little Miami ..... | 977 |
| On Little Miami ..... | 1235 |
| | 3051 Acres @ 5, $15,255. |

To the above item in his schedule he adds this note:

"The Quality of these lands & their situation may be known by the surveyor's certificates, which are filed along with the patents — They lye in the vicinity of Cincinnati, one tract near the mouth of the Little Miami, another seven, & the third ten miles up the same — I have been informed that they will readily command more than they are estimated at."

His will provided at great length and particularity for the disposal of most of his property, real and personal, — amounting to over half a million dollars — to certain persons and heirs as devisees; after naming the specific bequests he left all the rest and residue of his estate, real and personal, "not disposed of in manner aforesaid," to be distributed by his executors, of whom there were five, the two active ones being Judge Bushrod Washington and Colonel Lawrence Lewis, his nephews, for the benefit of certain named residuary legatees, twenty three in number. The Ohio lands were comprised in this residuary estate. Washington died December 14, 1799. What became of his Ohio lands?

Washington's fears expressed by his letter to Colonel Anderson were not without foundation.

On February 26, 1806, one Joseph Kerr, then a deputy surveyor of the Virginia Military District of Ohio, — and later (1815) United States Senator from Ohio — well knowing the Washington entries, surveys and warrants, had not been filed with the Secretary of War, at Washington, made three entries, completely covering the Washington locations. Indeed a comparison of the field notes — giving metes and bounds — of the surveyor for Washington and those of Kerr are so identical that

there is no doubt Kerr used the O'Bannon figures and descriptions, which are easy accessible. Kerr's three entries, at Washington, were numbered 4847, 4848 and 4862, covering completely and exactly Washington's entries numbered 1650, 1765 and 1775, respectively. The entry and survey No. 4847 — Washington's No. 1650 — Kerr entered for 839 acres in the name of General John Nevill, a Revolutionary soldier, formerly living at Pittsburg, Pa., but who had died July 20, 1803, and the patent was issued April 30, 1807, to Presley Nevill and Amelia Craig, son and married daughter and devisees of General John Nevill. The land embraced in survey No. 1765 (Washington's number) or 4848 Kerr's number, for 1235 acres, was also entered February 26, 1806, and on April 30, 1807, patent was issued to Presley Nevill and Amelia Craig, devisees of John Nevill. The tract included in No. 1775 (Washington's number) for 977 acres was entered February 26, 1806, by Major Henry Massie, founder of Portsmouth, Ohio. A patent was issued for this last entry, January 8, 1808. All these entries and surveys were put through the requirements of the law of 1790, and the patents properly secured. Subsequently, (in 1809) Joseph Kerr purchased the two surveys Nos. 4847 and 4848 of Presley Nevill and Amelia Craig, Kerr transferred to certain grantees and the present owners of the land hold through his title. Henry Massie, patentee of Kerr's survey No. 4862, duly sold to other parties and the present owners of said survey claim and hold title from him.

The difficulties and disputes growing out of locations irregularly entered, patented or relocated, — as we have before stated — led to several acts by Congress, one of which passed May 13, 1800, provided that patents issued by Virginia on the cession reserved by that state could be validated by filing with the proper officer, the previously granted entries, surveys and patents, provided such patents did not conflict with grants already legally perfected; where conflicts occurred, the later party could be recompensed by claiming other unoccupied lands. This act (1800) gave Washington's executors the opportunity of perfecting the title to his lands, since Kerr at this time had not made his entries. But they did not avail themselves of the opportunity.

Meanwhile notice of the hostile action of Joseph Kerr

reached Bushrod Washington, one of Washington's executors, and he wrote, on March 4, 1806, a letter to the register of the Virginia land office, at Richmond, asking for the warrants and papers connected with the title to the three tracts in question. This letter was carried to Richmond and delivered in person by Chief Justice Marshall. On March 14, 1806, the executors of General Washington, Judge Bushrod Washington and Colonel Lawrence Lewis, presented a petition to Congress asking it to confirm Washington's title to his three surveys. This petition was referred to the Committee of the House on Public Lands. The matter went over to the second session of (the 9th) Congress, when an act was passed on March 3, 1807, "authorizing patents to issue for lands located and surveyed by virtue of certain Virginia resolution warrants." This act, which though a general one, was passed especially to protect the Washington entries, and provided that any officer or soldier of the Continental army, to whom a warrant has been issued "by virtue of any resolution of the legislature of Virginia, as a bounty for services," etc., should obtain a patent for the same if the location was made within three years from March 23, 1808, and the survey be returned to the Secretary of War within five years from the same date. This act, known as the "Washington Act," be it remembered was passed March 3, 1807. But the Kerr entries were made February 26, 1806; the surveys May 20, 1806; and their recording made on June 2nd and 3rd, 1806; April 30, 1807, patents were issued from the United States for the Nevill surveys and on January 8, 1808, for the Massie survey. These United States patents of Kerr therefore forestalled the perfecting of the Washington "resolution" warrants.

Judge Bushrod Washington died in 1829 and Lawrence Lewis died some four or five years later. Neither they nor the other executors had done anything to secure the Ohio lands to the heirs, and that realty was lost to the estate, which seems practically to have been settled up by 1840, though in 1859, one of the Washington heirs was appointed as administrator, by the court in Fairfax county, Virginia, to adjust some unsettled business — an heir had been overpaid several thousand dollars and it was necessary to recover this and readjust it. At various

dates subsequent to 1852, as before noted, bills were enacted by Congress concerning the unsettled claims of Revolutionary veterans or their heirs, who held warrants in the Virginia Military District. These were relief bills, one as late as 1899, and they provided in the main that holders of such unsatisfied warrants might exchange them for government land scrip — entitling the holder to locations in the West.

But there were no administrators of the Washington estate to avail themselves of this form of relief and the lost Ohio lands of Washington, remained unnoticed or forgotten until the year 1907, when this matter was brought to the attention of the heirs of Washington by Mr. Nelson W. Evans of Portsmouth, Ohio, an attorney with wide experience in the land titles of Ohio and Virginia. The result of his discoveries and investigations led to the appointment, October 29, 1907, by the Fairfax county, Virginia, circuit court, of Robert E. Lee, Jr., as administrator *de bonis non* of General Washington. Robert E. Lee, Jr., is the son of Major General William H. F. Lee of the Confederate Army, and grandson of the late Confederate general-in-chief, Robert E. Lee, who in 1831 married Mary Randolph Custis, granddaughter of Martha Custis Washington. Robert E. Lee, Jr., and other living descendants of the Washington estate proceeded to have the Nevill and Massie surveys appraised by John Nichols—resident of Mount Washington, Anderson township, Hamilton county, Ohio;—Frank Davis, resident of Batavia Clermont county, Ohio, and William R. Fee of Portsmouth, Ohio. They placed the value of the 3051 acres in question at an average of $100.00 per acre,— it is probably worth double that amount— not taking into account the improvements on the land. Robert E. Lee, Jr., of Lexington, Va., Lawrence Washington, of Washington, D. C., and Samuel W. Washington of Charleston, W. Va., drew up a petition to the Congress of the United States, stating the facts in the case and asking that an enactment be passed authorizing the government to reimburse the estate of General Washington, the sum of three hundred and five thousand one hundred dollars, with interest thereon from the date of the petition. On December 5, 1907, bills were introduced both in the Senate and in the House of Representatives, first session of the

60th Congress, calling for the amount named; "to reimburse the estate of General George Washington for certain lands of his in the State of Ohio, lost by conflicting grants made under the authority of the United States."

Senate Bill No. 1238. (60th Congress, 1st Session.)

A BILL to reimburse the estate of General George Washington for certain lands of his in the State of Ohio lost by conflicting grants made under the authority of the United States.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, directed to pay to Colonel Robert E. Lee, Jr., administrator de bonis non, with the will annexed of General George Washington, the sum of three hundred and five thousand one hundred dollars, in full compensation to the estate of General Washington for the loss of his thirty-one hundred acres of land warrants and the grants made thereunder, and for any and all claims which said estate might or could make against the United States on account of land warrants or grants held by him or his estate upon warrants locatable northwest of the Ohio river.

House Bill No. 5489. (60th Congress, 1st Session.)

A BILL to reimburse the estate of General George Washington for certain lands of his in the State of Ohio, lost by conflicting grants made under the authority of the United States.

Whereas at the close of the Revolutionary war General George Washington was the owner of a three-thousand acre land warrant purchased by him; and

Whereas the legislature of Virginia in seventeen hundred and eighty-five, at his request, granted him a new warrant to be satisfied in the Virginia military district of Ohio, which, together with another warrant of one hundred acres owned by him, was located in seventeen hundred and eighty-eight in said district in three surveys — sixteen hundred and fifty, seventeen hundred and sixty-five, and seventeen hundred and seventy-five; and

Whereas said locations were approved by Congress in the act of August tenth, seventeen hundred and ninety, opening the district for location; and

Whereas Congress, on the third day of March, eighteen hundred and seven, passed an act entitled "An act authorizing patents to issue for lands located and surveyed by virtue of certain Virginia resolution warrants," which was enacted on petition of the executors of General Washington to enable them to confirm their title to said grants; and

Whereas by oversight and neglect of the proper officers of the United States, before and after the passage of said act, other parties were permitted to locate on General Washington's lands and obtain patents therefor from the United States, and the grantees of these patents and their assigns have held the land ever since; and

Whereas these patents were obtained during the time allowed by the act of March third, eighteen hundred and seven, to the executors of General Washington to perfect their title; and

Whereas the estate of General George Washington was never in any default in completing its title after the opening of the district on August tenth, seventeen hundred and ninety: Therefore

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That there is hereby appropriated and shall be paid by the proper accounting officer of the United States to Colonel Robert E. Lee, junior, appointed by the circuit court of Fairfax County, Virginia, administrator de bonis non, with the will annexed, of General George Washington, the sum of three hundred and five thousand one hundred dollars, which shall be taken and received by said administrator as full compensation to the estate of General Washington for the loss of his three thousand one hundred acres of land warrants and the grants made thereunder and for any and all claims which his estate might or could make against the United States on account of land warrants or grants held by him or his estate upon warrants locatable northwest of the Ohio River.

Sec. 2. That the act of March third, eighteen hundred and ninety-nine, entitled "An act making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June thirtieth, nineteen hundred, and for other purposes," in so far as it required Virginia military land warrants to be presented and surrendered to the Secretary of the Interior within twelve months from the passage of said act or be forever barred and invalid, is hereby repealed.

These bills were referred in the Senate and in the House respectively to the Committee on Claims. Hearings were had before the committees, particularly that of the House, by the petitioners and counsel for the estate. But no action was taken by either branch of Congress or by the committees, during the first session of this (60th) Congress, a session continuing from December 2, 1907, to May 30, 1908. Nor did this Congress in its second session — December 3, 1908, to March 4, 1909 — take any action in the matter. But the House committee gave respectful consideration to the bill and granted attentive hearings to Messrs. Nelson W. Evans, Greenlee D. Letcher, of Lexington,

Va., and Judge W. A. Washington of Kankakee, Ill. The statements made by these gentlemen to the committee were published by the committee, which, however, made no formal report. The Senate committee took no action whatever. No attention whatever was paid to the subject in the special or first session of the 61st Congress, which convened March 15, 1909, and adjourned August 5. The bill was re-introduced in the second session of this (61st) Congress which began December 6, 1909, and continued till June 25, 1910. In the Senate it was referred to the Committee on Claims, which shelved it in a sub-committee, where it rested undisturbed. In the House it was referred to the Committee on Private Land Claims. This committee gave the matter some serious consideration; it requested a statement of the facts and opinion from Mr. R. A. Ballinger, Secretary of the Interior, who made an investigation of the records and laws in the premises in the proper departments, and reported the same to the House committee. Mr. Ballinger closed his communication to the committee with the clause, "the department (Interior) accordingly recommends that the bill be not enacted into law." The committee, however, gave the petitioners two respectful hearings, a report of the second of which was published, containing a report of the committee favorable to the enactment of the bill, for the committee says:

"The committee finds that the lands out of which General Washington's surveys were made were accepted from Virginia by the United States on March 1, 1784, in trust for the satisfaction of Virginia military bounty-land claims of the same character as those held by General Washington, in his Rootes warrant for 3,000 acres, No. 3753, and in Cope warrant for 100 acres No. 3670.

"That when this trust was created no time was fixed in the contract between Virginia and the United States in which its execution was to be completed, and none has ever been fixed subsequently.

"That this obligation of the United States to satisfy this claim was recognized and affirmed in the first clause of Article VI of the Federal Constitution.

"That the first Congress of the United States in the act of August 10, 1790, accepted this trust, and undertook its performance.

"That in the compact between the United States and the State of Virginia, expressed in the resolution of the general assembly of Virginia of date April 12, 1852 (Virginia, acts of 1852, p. 318), and in the act of

Congress of August 31, 1852 (vol. 10, p. 143), known as the 'scrip law,' and in the resolution of the general assembly of Virginia of date December 6, 1852 (Virginia, acts of 1852, p. 357), accepting the scrip law, there was no limitation on this obligation. There has been no further compact between December 6, 1852, and the present time, and consequently no limitation of any kind exists to the demand for the allowance of this claim. We find it to be, as an obligation, a part of the public debt of the United States and, as such, governed by the provisions of the first clause of the sixth article of the Constitution, and by section 4 of the fourteenth amendment, and that claimants have the right to demand its satisfaction and payment, so long as there is any representative to demand its payment, and so long as the evidence can be procured to establish it."

It seems to have been the intention of the committee to submit this report to the House, but that was not done and thus the matter rests, pending the next session of Congress.

And this is the narrative of the curious claim of the Washington estate for the reimbursement of General Washington's Ohio lands. It is a controversy of a century and a quarter and rivals, in fact, some of the humorous fictions of the law's delays, in the stories of Dickens and Mark Twain. It would seem that this is an instance where the proverbial ingratitude of republics should not be permitted to prevail. National parsimony has no place in patriotism. Washington gave, absolutely, his services to his country, services perhaps no other one at the time, could have contributed with successful results. As Mr. Nelson W. Evans states in his plea for the petitioners, before the House committee, it is not any bounty that is being asked, but rather the discharge of a just debt. Congress satisfied bounties in land to Virginia officers and soldiers to the amount of 4,334,800 acres and to the same class in land scrip bounties 1,041,916 acres. The whole number of warrants issued by Virginia, says Mr. Evans, for military and naval bounties to her officers was 6,146,950 acres. Congress bestowed rewards to many of the Revolutionary generals, for example, General Peter Muhlenberg, 13,194 acres; General Hugh Mercer 10,000 acres; General Daniel Morgan 23,334 acres; General Charles Scott 15,278 acres; General Baron Steuben 15,000 acres; General George Rogers Clark 10,000 acres. Thaddeus Kosciusko, the Polish patriot, who was a col-

onel in the United States army during the American Revolution received the sum of $12,280.49 as regular pay and in addition Congress gave him, April 1800, warrants for 500 acres of land which by the way, he located in Ohio, Franklin County, Perry township, on the Scioto.

General Lafayette was the favorite of our national munificence and gratitude, for on March 3, 1803, Congress gave him 11,520 acres of land; on December 28, 1824, it gave him $200,000 in money and a township of land estimated worth $115,200; all of this in addition to the pay of major general which he received during his service as the friend of America's freedom, a pay amounting to $24,400. England gave the Duke of Wellington the estate of Strathfieldsaye, costing $1,315,000 for one day's work in the Battle of Waterloo. General James Wilson, at a banquet at Delmonico's February 22, 1894, related that when he first visited the princely estate of Strathfieldsaye, he was surprised and gratified to see a portrait of Washington, by Stuart, occupying the place of honor in the Duke's drawing-room. In answer to General Wilson's look of inquiry, the eldest son, of the deceased Iron Duke, remarked, "It was placed there by my father, who esteemed Washington as perhaps the purest and noblest character of modern times — possibly of all time — and, considering the material of the armies with which he successfully met the trained and veteran soldiers of the Old World, fairly entitled to a place among the great captains of the Eighteenth Century."

Will Congress repudiate a just debt, a debt, it has ever acknowledged, to the "purest and noblest character of modern times," the founder of this republic, upon which, in fulfillment of the prophecy of Daniel Webster, "the nations of the earth gaze with awe and admiration."

# EDITORIALANA.

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## TRUSTEE MEETING AT SPIEGEL GROVE.

On Thursday, June 30th, the Trustees of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society held a regular meeting at the residence of Colonel Webb C. Hayes, Spiegel Grove, Fremont, Ohio. It was a most interesting and memorable occasion. Colonel Hayes had invited the Trustees to be his guests the day named above and day before, and on Wednesday noon, the the 29th, several of the Trustees, upon their arrival at Bellevue, enroute to Fremont, were met by Colonel Hayes, Senator T. A. Dean and other prominent citizens of Fremont, also a delegation of the Daughters of the American Revolution, viz: Mrs. C. R. Truesdall, State Regent, D. A. R.; Mrs. John T. Mack, Committee Chairman State Historic sites, D. A. R.; Mrs. L. A. Dickinson, Regent George Croghan Chapter, D. A. R.; Mrs. F. H. Dorr, Mrs. S. Brinkerhoff, Mrs. A. Little, Mrs. H. G. Edgerton, Mrs. B. Dudrow, Mrs. Otto Davis, Mrs. C. R. Lester (Detroit), Miss Julia Haynes and Miss Lucy E. Keeler—all members of G. A. R. Hon. J. C. Wonders, Chief of the Ohio State Highway Commission, was also the guest of Colonel Hayes. The entire party were comfortably bestowed in automobiles and whisked over the country roads, to the site of Fort Seneca, within the present precincts of the village of Old Fort, romantically located on the banks of the Sandusky River. Here the party traced the lines of the old fort, under the guidance of some of the elder inhabitants, one a genial well-preserved gentlemen, upwards of four score years of age, Mr. Hiram Risden, "born and raised on the spot," and who as a boy saw the fort picket walls and blockhouse defenses still standing. Mr. Risden's father —Joel Risden—located here, coming from Vermont in 1810. This was

COL. WEBB C. HAYES.

the headquarters of General Harrison, during an important period of the 1812 war. The defense known as Fort Seneca was erected early in July, 1813, and contained within its enclosure about one and one-half acres of land. The position of the fort was both a picturesque and a practical one, being situated upon the bank about forty feet above the bed of the Sandusky river.

On the return to Fremont, the party made a stop at the location of Ball's Battlefield, where Colonel Ball with a detachment of troops, on their way to the Maumee, a day or two before the assault on Fort Stephenson, met a band of Tecumseh's Indians. The encounter was somewhat unique in as much as the mounted soldiers with drawn sabres charged into the Indian ranks and cut them to pieces before the savages could get their flint lock guns into working order. The site of Ball's battle is to be appropriately "monumented" by the Daughters of the American Revolution, who have already placed in position an immense bowlder, upon which suitable descriptive tablets will be attached.

The Trustees were most hospitably entertained at Spiegle Grove the evening and night of the 29th. At 8:30 a. m., Thursday, the Board meeting was held in the spacious parlors of the Hayes residence, so interestingly and inspiringly stored with relics of the wars of '76, 1812 and '61 to '65. Like knights of the historic Round Table the Trustees gathered in this room, where have been received at various times so many distinguished members of the official, civil and military circles of our nation. The splendid features of Rutherford B. Hayes, at one time President of our Society, and always its ardent advocate, seemed to gaze approvingly upon the proceedings of the meeting. The Trustees present were: M. R. Andrews, G. F. Bareis, A. J. Baughman, H. E. Buck, R. E. Hills, J. W. Harper, B. F. Prince, L. P. Schaus, H. A. Thompson, W. C. Mills, G. F. Wright and E. O. Randall. The main business in hand was the acceptance of the deeds from Colonel Hayes, completing in prospect the transfer of the entire Spiegel Grove property, of some twenty-five acres, to the State of Ohio, for the benefit and the custodianship of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. One year ago Colonel Hayes made over ten acres of the property, embracing the Harrison Trail. The two deeds now submitted and accepted by the Society, transfer the additional ten acre strip facing on Hayes and Wilson avenues, and a separate deed for the remaining five acres, including the famous and magnificent Hayes residence, with its priceless treasure of relics and books. Conditions of this princely and patriotic gift are, that the State or the Historical Society shall properly maintain the property and home, allowing the lineal descendants of the late President Hayes to occupy the residence when they choose and that the State or Society shall erect a fireproof library building to contain the library, which in Americana is perhaps the richest private collection in this country.

Mr. Birchard A. Hayes of Toledo, Ohio, and Mrs. Fanny Hayes Smith of Annapolis, Md., oldest son and only daughter respectively of the late President Rutherford B. Hayes, were elected life members of the Society.

At the adjournment of the meeting, under the chaperonage of Colonel Hayes, the party again resorted to automobiles, and accompanied by several other guests including many of the Daughters of the American Revolution, who were in the party of the previous day, all proceeded to Port Clinton, where dinner was served at the hotel. An inspection was then made of the historic carrying-place, leading from the mouth of the Portage River on Lake Erie across the projecting neck of land to Sandusky Bay.

It is proposed to mark the northern portion of this old Sandusky-Scioto land trail — leading from Lake Erie to the Ohio River, along the west bank of the Sandusky-Scioto watercourse,—by erecting two simple bowlder monuments on what is called the De Lery portage of 1754, extending from Lake Erie across the Marblehead peninsula to Sandusky Bay, opposite the mouth of the Sandusky River. This portage is approximately represented by Fulton Street of the city of Port Clinton with its extension north, an ordinary country road, from the city limits south to Sandusky Bay.

Old Fort Sandusky, built in 1745, was near the southern end of this portage and General Harrison's army embarked for the Canadian campaign, terminating in the Battle of the Thames, from the northern end of this portage, at which point his troops also were embarked on Commodore Perry's ships soon after the battle of Lake Erie. The citizens of Port Clinton propose to erect a split bowlder monument on the shores of Sandusky Bay at the south end of the De Lery portage, at the site of Old Fort Sandusky. And the Ohio Society of Colonial Dames of America have secured a fund for the construction of an historical tablet to be placed on one of the faces of the monument. It is agreed that the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society place on this monument a tablet of similar size, descriptive of the events happening on this site, and also two small tablets, one containing the roster of the officers of the French expedition of 1754 and the other the roster of the first British expedition of 1760, when America was taken over by Great Britain from France.

At the northern end of the portage a similar monument will be erected by citizens of Port Clinton, on which the Ohio Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, will place a tablet for which a sum has been provided, and it is decided that a tablet of similar size also descriptive of the battle of Lake Erie, be erected by the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, and also two smaller tablets, one containing a roster of the officers of Major General Harrison's army

and the other the officers of the American fleet of Commodore Perry and the British fleet of Captain Barclay.

The day's outing was delightfully closed by a steam-yacht trip from Port Clinton to Put-in-Bay, where a short stop was made and a glimpse taken of the proposed site of the monument to be erected in September, 1912, commemorative of Perry's encounter on Lake Erie.

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## EDWARD LIVINGSTON TAYLOR.

An innumerable host of admiring acquaintances heard with regret, and a wide circle of intimate friends learned with sincere sorrow of the sudden death of Edward Livingston Taylor, who unexpectedly passed to the great beyond on the evening of Sunday, May 29th (1910.)

His was no ordinary character; his abilities were of an unusual order; his qualities of sociability and friendship bound him in the closest ties to those who enjoyed the priviledge of his companionship.

EDWARD L. TAYLOR.

Mr. Taylor descended from a lineage distinguished for pioneer achievement, for surpassing energy, unyielding integrity and unswerving devotion to truth and country. He was the son of David Taylor and Margaret Livingston, respectively, of English and Scotch origin, whose families through widely different channels of experience came together in Franklin county, Ohio, more than a hundred years ago. David Taylor, father of our subject, was born in Nova Scotia, in 1801, and with his father (Robert) and brothers and sisters moved to Chillicothe, Ohio, then the capital of the new state, in 1806. Two years later the family moved to Truro township, Franklin county, and the frame house then constructed for their home, still stands, one of the oldest landmarks of early settlement in the state, and it is still in the possession and occupancy of the Taylor family. This Truro township is historic, for it lies in the "Refugee Tract," a strip of land four and one-half miles wide from north to south and about fifty miles from east to west, extending from the east bank of the Scioto River to near the

Muskingum River, and comprising 136,000 acres. This "refugee" strip was so called because set aside by Congress of the United States in 1801 to remunerate those residents of Canada who at the time of the American Revolution espoused the colonial cause and who sacrificing all property and interests at home, crossed the border and joined the American army. One of the most conspicuous of these refugees was Colonel James Livingston, who with two brothers fled Canada and cast his lot with the loyalists of New York. James Livingston was made colonel of a regiment, serving at first under General Schuyler and later under General Montgomery. Colonel Livingston did valiant service the entire seven years of the Revolution, in recognition of which the United States government assigned him 1,200 acres of the aforesaid refugee land, on which a portion of the city of Columbus now stands. The patents for this land were turned over by the father (James) to his son, Edward C. Livingston, who soon thereafter (1804) took possession thereof and settled thereon. The daughter of this Edward Livingston, ——and his wife Martha Nelson,—was Margaret Livingston, who married David Taylor, May 16, 1836. Of this union—strong in blood, brawn and brain—was born, March 20, 1839, Edward Livingston Taylor. He was educated in the district schools and at Hanover College, Indiana, and Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, from which latter he graduated in 1860. He at once began the study of law at Columbus, in the office of Chauncey N. Olds, then one of the foremost leaders of the Franklin county bar. But the Civil War appealed to the patriotism of the law student and during June and July, 1861, Edward served as a private in a volunteer company. He then returned to his law books until July, 1862, when he again responded to his country's call and was commissioned captain of Company D in the Ninety-fifth Ohio Volunteers. He was wounded and taken prisoner at the battle of Richmond, Ky., August 30, 1862. In a short time he was paroled and exchanged and resuming his place at the front served thereafter in the Army of the Tennessee, until the close of the siege of Vicksburg, July 4, 1863. The failure of his health compelled his retirement from the army. His law studies were completed and being admitted to the bar in November, 1862, he began the practice of his profession in which for forty years he was most successful—an untiring student, a clear and vigorous thinker, a ready and strong speaker, a fearless combatant, ever observant of the rules and the courtesies of his profession, in short, an honorable, upright, gentlemanly, but persistent and aggressive practitioner. He singularly combined in his manner and method the urbanity and dignity of the old school with the technical knowledge and uncompromising tenacity and keen alertness of the modern advocate. In his attainments and his tastes he was a striking example of the well rounded man. He intensely enjoyed the out-door life, its invigorating and inspiring freedom. He knew the fields and the forests and delighted in

every form of nature. But he also knew books, he had the literary instinct and the library was his dukedom. Especially was he given to history, that of his own nation, state and locality. His own family records, of which he was justly proud, stimulated him to a wider range of research, until he was recognized as an authority on "the brave days of old" when the Ohio forests echoed to the stroke of the pioneer's axe and the war-whoop of the Indian occupant. The red man appealed to his human sympathy and his historic predilections. He read profusely the annals of the aborigine, and wrote many monographs thereon. Of Mr. Taylor's knowledge, scholarship and graceful facility with the pen, the volumes of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society amply testify. He was painstaking in his statements, critically judicious in the presentation of his subject-matter, terse and vigorous in style and always entertaining. Only a few months before his decease he gathered many of his essays, historic, reminiscent and otherwise, and published them in a volume of some three hundred and fifty pages, entitled, "Ohio Indians." It was at Mr. Taylor's suggestion that the monument was erected to the memory of Leatherlips, a Wyandot chief, executed June 1, 1810, by members of his own tribe, at the supposed instigation of Tenskwantawaw, the Prophet, brother of Tecumseh, who then had his headquarters at Tippecanoe. Leatherlips was charged with being in alliance with the whites in the race war then raging. This monument, one of the first ever erected to an Indian, and the only one in Ohio, was dedicated September 18, 1887. The monument is a Scotch granite monolith, sarcophagus in design; imposing and properly inscribed, it rests on an elevation on the east bank of the Scioto River, not far from the present town of Dublin. Mr. Taylor was deeply versed in the Indian history and lore of Ohio, he seemed to know history at first hand, and would delight to descant upon the deeds of Pontiac, Tecumseh, Cornstalk, Little Turtle, Blue Jacket, Black Hawk and the many other chiefs that made the early annals of the western red men so romantic. Mr. Taylor had an exalted and ideal regard for women, ribaldry had no place in his presence; he ever spoke in sanctified terms of his wife, Katherine Noble Myers, whom he married in 1864 and who died thirty years later. Few men so enthusiastically enjoyed the comradeship of congenial friends. Extremely democratic in temperament and in manner, he was intellectually artistocratic and in the choice of his friends and associates gave cold welcome to those who had little else to offer than pretense, shallowness and ignorance. A fascinating conversationalist, he possessed that rare concomitant, the patience of a good listener. He had gleaned in all the fields of the richest literature, and the harvest was at his ready command. Fortunate indeed were those who were privileged to gather at his entertainments and one departed hence with the feeling, not that he had been at "the frivolous work of polished idleness," but rather had been the guest of one upon whom nature had

lavished her rarest gifts of talent and temperament to which had been added the strength of a noble character and the accomplishments of the scholar and the gentleman.

Mr. Taylor, early in its history, became a life member of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, to the publications of which he contributed so much of incomparable value and in the progress of which he took an active interest. As a sympathetic friend has noted, perhaps no more appropriate tribute, in epitome, could be paid to the tastes and acquirements of Colonel Taylor in the studies of antiquity than that expressed by his appreciative friend General John Beatty, who dedicated one of the later of his most interesting works, "The Alcohuans," in the following words: "This volume is respectively dedicated to Edward Livingston Taylor, a lover of the great forests and prairies, as they come ever fresh from the hands of the Creator, and to whom the ancient mounds, squares, octagons and circles of the Ohio Valley are not only in themselves objects of curious interest, but incentives as well to pleasant conjecture with respect to the people who built them."

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## AVERY'S UNITED STATES.

The Burrows Brothers, Cleveland, Ohio, have issued the Seventh Volume of their unequalled History of the United States — we say unequalled because that is true, as to the completeness with which the history is recited and the attractiveness, indeed splendor, with which the work is mechanically produced. That Mr. Avery, the author, is a most painstaking and pleasing writer is granted, even by those who may criticize other features of the work. These criticisms, however, seem to be confined to the incidental features, of arrangement and execution, rather than the substance or main purpose and result of the work. An historian should first give the facts, second the facts only pertinent to a thorough knowledge of the progress and interpretation of the events he should set forth the matter chosen for presentation, in an entertaining way as possible — as Roosevelt said in his scholarly address before the University of Oxford (on June 7), speaking of the recording of history: "We must of course cordially agree that accuracy in recording facts and appreciation of their relative worth and inter-relationship are just as necessary in

ELROY M. AVERY.

historical study as in any other kind of study; the fact that a book though interesting, is untrue, of course, removes it at once from the category of history; however much it may still deserve to retain a place in the always desirable group of volumes which deal with entertaining fiction; but the converse also holds, at least to the extent of permitting us to insist upon what would be the elementary fact that a book which is written to be read should be readable." An unquestioned truth, but written history, until the present generation of historians arose, was so exclusively a dry, didactic production that the ordinary reader fled from its perusal. The public today demands first of all that the history "be readable," otherwise the public will have none of it. Mr. Avery's history is readable — no history of the United States more so — nor is this characteristic ever employed at the sacrifice of accuracy. But to the history itself.

The Seventh Volume deals with the inauguration of the Federal Government and the terms of Washington's presidency. The treatment of the contents of this volume is, to our mind, therefore a greater test of the writer's qualifications as an historian than the preceding volumes. Those dealt with the romance of discovery, of the picturesqueness of colonial settlement, and the dramatic acts of the Revolution. All these appeal to the imagination of the writer and stimulate his powers of artistic description. To deal with the initiative and trial period of our government, requires the calmness, impartiality and philosophical discernment of the thorough scholar. Mr. Avery has amply and attractively met these requirements. The Constitutional Convention, has completed its labors and the proposed organic charter of the new Republic is submitted to the Congress of the Confederation. Thence it was transmitted to the several legislatures in order to be passed upon by a Convention of Delegates in each state by the people thereof. For nearly a year the constitution ran the gauntlet of the Federalists and Anti-Federalists in their representative states. Bitter was the contest and close the result in many instances, especially in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Virginia and New York. On July 2, 1788, nine states, the required two-thirds, had ratified and Congress proceeded to set in motion the machinery for the new government. Washington was unanimously chosen President by the sixty-nine electors, and April 30, 1789, "six days before the meeting of the States-General at Versailles," he was, in New York City, inaugurated President, an office he was to fill with marvelous ability and success until March 4, 1797. The recital of these eight years by Mr. Avery is necessarily too brief and condensed for the exacting student of the constructive period of our government; but the narration is sufficient for, and well adapted to, the wants and desires of the ordinary reader, the clientele for which this history is written. The chapter on "British Diplomacy and the Northwest" is of especial interest to the Ohio readers. The Revolution, as to New England, closed at the surrender of Yorktown. But in

the Northwest Territory and particularly that portion later to constitute Ohio, the contest between England and the New Republic was continued, with varying force and magnitude until the respective treaties on the part of the United States and by Jay with England in 1794, and Wayne with the Ohio Indians, at Greenville in the following year. On the ground that the United States had not lived up to the terms of the treaty, following the war, as to the British debts and Tories' claims, Great Britain continued to hold some of the posts she had agreed to surrender, these were, as mentioned by Avery, Dutchman's Point on Lake Champlain, Oswegotchie (Ogdenburg) on the Saint Lawrence, Oswego, Niagara, Erie, Detroit and Michilimackinac. He might also have mentioned, the less important post at the mouth of the Maumee River.

"Meanwhile," says Mr. Avery, "the presence of the British at the Northwest posts had intensified a troublesome situation in that region. The treaty of peace had not brought peace along the far-flung line of the western advance. This was due in part to the irrepressible conflict between civilization and barbarism, but Spanish intrigues in the Southwest and British intrigues in the Northwest were also partly responsible. To what extent the British had fomented Indian hostilities is a matter of some doubt. It appears that they did not desire a general war that would diminish the supply of furs, but hostilities that would impede settlement and keep the Americans out of the region would work to their advantage —— 'a dangerous policy and likely to get beyond control'. The British home government was probably guiltless of any direct instigation and, until 1794, the same may be said of the higher Canadian authorities. With their subordinates in the Northwest the case was different. British traders and officials listened to stories of Indian wrongs with sympathetic ears and furnished the red men with provisions and arms, while renegade Tories, like Simon Girty, and some of the French Canadians from Detroit actually accompanied the war parties on forays. The British claimed that the presents and supplies were only those that they were accustomed to give in times of peace; but the Indians did not use them peaceably. In the words of Professor Bassett, 'the assistance the savages were wont to receive in an unofficial way from the officials of Canada was little short of the aid given ordinarily to an open ally'."

Then follows the expeditions of the United States against the Ohio Indians, — expeditions commanded respectively by Generals Arthur St. Clair, Josiah Harmar and Anthony Wayne. The first two were terribly disastrous; the third victorious and the culmination of the Indian power in the Ohio country. The recitals of these campaigns are necessarily brief but are made doubly clear and valuable by the accompanying maps and battle diagrams. St. Clair's defeat at Fort Recovery was one of the worst blows to Washington's administration. Says Mr. Avery:

"The tidings of disaster did not reach Philadelphia until the evening of the 19th of December. Washington heard the news while at din-

ner. He restrained himself until the guests were gone, but then 'his pent-up wrath broke forth in one of those fits of volcanic fury which sometimes shattered his iron outward calm.' He told how he had bidden Saint Clair above all else to beware of surprise. 'He went off with that solemn warning thrown into his ears, and yet to suffer that army to be cut to pieces, hacked, butchered, tomahawked, by a surprise, the very thing I guarded him against! O God, O God, he's worse than a murderer! How can he answer it to his countrymen!' Then, calming himself with difficulty, he added: 'General Saint Clair shall have justice * * * he shall have full justice.' The unfortunate general hurried east to meet any charges that might be brought against him. He asked for a court-martial, but there were not enough officers of suitable rank in the army to form the court. At Washington's request he resigned his commission as comander-in-chief of the army, but he retained his governorship ten years longer. Beyond this, he was never punished for the disaster. This was perhaps just. Saint Clair was unquestionably incompetent, but he was courageous and honorable, and the administration itself was not free from blame. With the kind of army that had been given him, only a military genius could have avoided failure if not disaster."

The chapter on Jay's Treaty discusses that important episode in a most complete and satisfactory manner. Treaties are usually dry subjects for the historian and uninteresting ones for the popular reader, but Mr. Avery handles the features and results of Jay's negotiations with the British authorities so that the attention of the reader does not flag. Then follows the "Alien and Sedition Acts," and the "Fall of the Federalists." The chapter on "Jeffersonian Simplicity" gives us the democratic contrast to the Washington splendor and rather regal *regime.* To our minds one of the most romantic incidents in our early national history is the "Purchase of Louisiana," with its Spanish and French background, the cosmopolitan mixture of races, the Indian, the negro, the Spaniard, the Frenchman, the Briton and the American, each having a part in the play of this territorial acquisition which so worried Jefferson and stirred up the constitutional debaters in Congress, and roused the party politicians of the East, West and South.

And through it all ran the long-headed schemes of "the subtle but unprincipled Talleyrand" and the cunning, fine Italian, or shall we say Corsican, hand of the invincible Napoleon.

Volume Seven of Avery's United States shows no diminution in the qualities of its authorship or the unsurpassed mastership in the typographical style of its production by Burrows Brothers, the publishers, Cleveland, Ohio.

## MIAMI UNIVERSITY ALUMNI CATALOGUE.

Mr. B. S. Bartlow, life member of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society and former member of the Ohio House of Representatives, and later Sergeant-at-Arms of the Ohio Senate, has edited a "General Catalogue of the Graduates and Students of Miami University," including the Trustees and members of the faculty. Miami University claims an existence from 1809, when on February 17, it was "formally instituted and named by Act of the Legislature of Ohio." One year later the site of the college was established at the village of Oxford, in the township set apart for educational revenues. "There was considerable delay until sufficient funds should accumulate to justify the inauguration of actual collegiate instruction. In the meantime a temporary building was erected, in which was maintained a 'Select School' for the young people of the new community, James Maxwell Dorsey being the teacher. This continued from 1811 to 1818, when the Reverend James Hughes was employed by the Trustees to conduct the Grammar School of Miami University. By 1824 an adequate building had been constructed for college purposes and there was a respectable balance left for running expenses. Accordingly, the Board employed the Reverend Robert Hamilton Bishop as the first president, and announced the opening of the University for November of that year." Mr. Bartlow, himself an alumnus of the University, has performed his task, a most arduous one, in an unquestionably satisfactory manner. The volume consists of some four hundred and thirty pages and embraces perhaps five thousand names, the alumni and matriculates, and teachers connected with this famous institution for a century. Of both the alumni and former students, not only the names but residences and brief facts of career, are given. A glance through this rostrum reveals the unusual number of distinguished men who obtained their "larnin" at Miami. Few colleges in the country can boast so great an output of students who in subsequent life became illustrious. Mr. Bartlow is to be congratulated upon accomplishing so valuable a service for the University and its clientele. But Mr. Bartlow is no novice in book making; he is the author of an extensive history of Butler county and has contributed many articles to the press and local historical publications.

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## NEW HISTORY OF SANDUSKY COUNTY.

County histories as a general class do not take high rank in the historic literature of a state or nation, for the reason that in most cases the "history" part is subordinate, if not a hasty prepared apology, for the accompanying biographies of the contemporary county residents, who with pardonable pride wish to have their lives and modest achievements recorded in permanent form. "The Twentieth Century History of San-

dusky County, Ohio, and Representative Citizens," recently published, in admirable form, by a Chicago house, possesses an historical "feature" however deserving of attention and unequivocal commendation, for its author is Mr. Basil Meek, of Fremont, Ohio, who has been a welcome contributor to the pages of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society *Quarterly* and who is recognized as a diligent, painstaking and enthusiastic student of local history. He has an unusually fertile field in the county of which he has been a resident for nearly half a century. The historical part for which Mr. Meek seems to be responsible, is nearly half of the immense volume consisting of 950 quarto pages. Mr. Meek has indeed produced a history, valuable and readable. The first chapter on the geology of the county is from the pen of Prof. G. Frederick Wright, President of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. Mr. Meek then takes up the works of the Mound Builders, whom he thinks have been identified by the tradition of the Wyandots, to the effect that their ancestors, the Huron-Iroquois, joined with the ancestors of the Leni-Lenape, or Delawares, vanquished the Allegwi, believed to have been the mysterious Mound Builders; the Indian conquerors drove the Allegwi southward and down the Mississippi. Mr. Meek does not tell us that the Allegwi were a more ancient tribe of Indians, which fact would connect the Mound Builders with the historic red men. This is of course a greatly disputed topic. If the ancestors of the Indians did build the mounds, those earth architects were much farther back than the Allegwi. But it doesn't matter, for concerning the identity of the Mound Builders, one man's opinion is about as good as another's "for nobody knows;" we know that for we have tried to find out ourselves. Of the red men and early settlers Mr. Meek speaks with accredited authority. His chapter on the "Coming of the White Man and Passing of the Red" is an excellent summary of an intensely interesting period of central Ohio history. The evidence is undisputed that Sandusky county lies in the territory wherein were scenes in the great contest between the terrible Iroquois and Eries or Cat Nation, dwelling on the southern shores of Lake Erie. The "Cats" were exterminated, or if any escaped they fled far west. This "war" is the earliest recorded event in Ohio history and can be verified by the Jesuit Relations. Sandusky county was a most important and exciting center during the War of 1812, and Fremont is the site of Fort Stephenson, which in August, 1813, was so marvelously defended, by Major George Grogan and one hundred and sixty men, against the army of Proctor's British regulars and the countless host of savages under Tecumseh. There is no event in American history comparable to this in picturesque or dramatic *mise-en-scene,* in the display of patriotism and dauntless bravery. This incident alone makes the history of Sandusky county great. Mr. Meek gives a most pleasing description of Spiegel Grove, the famous and historic residence of Rutherford B.

Hayes. Spiegel Grove is indeed the Mount Vernon of Ohio. It is this magnificent estate and home that the present owner, Colonel Webb C. Hayes, is transferring to the State of Ohio for the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, to be by the latter preserved intact for historic and educational purposes.

After reading Mr. Meek's production one might think that Sandusky county had a monopoly on Ohio history. It certainly is rich in the "lore of the brave days of old."

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## SAMUEL SULLIVAN COX.

### His Famous Word Picture.

S. S. Cox, during his latter days known as Sunset Cox, was a Buckeye of most illustrious fame. Born in Zanesville in 1824 he became a lawyer of brilliant promise but deserted that profession in 1853 to become the editor of *The Ohio Statesman* in Columbus. For one year he was secretary of legation in Peru. He represented Ohio in Congress for eight years (1857-65), and New York, whither he removed in 1866, for seventeen years, (1869-73, 1875-85, and 1886-89). In 1885-86 he was minister to Turkey. He was popularly known as the letter-carriers' friend in reference to legislation proposed by him for increase in their salary and the concessions to them of a vacation with pay. A statue of him was erected by the letter-carriers in New York City. Mr. Cox wrote and lectured a great deal, some of his works being: *Eight Years in Congress; The Buckeye Abroad,* and *Why We Laugh.*

The editor of the Quarterly remembers seeing Mr. Cox and hearing him speak during his residence in Columbus. Mr. Cox was a polished gentleman, a magnetic personality, with most engaging manners, and possessed of a style of oratory like that of classic speakers of old. He was erudite, humorous and witty, with wonderful powers of logic and persuasion. He was a mixture of the Garfield and Galloway type of public speakers, for he combined information with entertainment in an unsurpassed facility.

The description of the Ohio sunset that today is one of the imperishables of American literature, and which brought recognition to Samuel S. Cox as a master word painter, was found at the close of a busy day. Here it is:

"What a peculiar sunset was that of last night! How glorious the storm and how splendid the setting of the sun! We do not remember ever to have seen the like on our round globe. The scene opened in the West with a whole horizon full of golden interpenetrating luster which colored the foliage and brightened every object into its own dyes. The color grew deeper and richer, until the golden luster was transfused into a storm cloud, full of finest lightning, which leaped in dazzling zigzags

all over and around the city. The wind arose with fury, the slender shrubs and giant trees made obeisance to its majesty. Some even snapped before its force. The strawberry beds and grass plats 'turned up their whites' to see Zephyrus march by. As the rain came and the pools and the gutters hurried away, thunder roared grandly, and the fire bells caught the excitement and rang with heavy choruses. The South and East received the copious showers, and the West all at once brightened up in a long, polished belt of azure, worthy of a Sicilian sky.

"Presently a cloud appeared in the azure belt in the form of a constellated city. It became more vivid, revealing strange forms of peerless fanes and alabaster temples and glories rare and grand in this mundane sphere. It reminded us of Wordsworth's splendid verse in his 'Excursion':

> The appearance instantaneously disclosed
> Was of a mighty city, boldly say
> A wilderness of building sinking far
> And self-withdrawn into a wondrous depth,
> Far sinking into splendor without end.

"But the city vanished only to give place to another isle where the most beautiful forms of foliage appeared, imaging a paradise in the distant and purified air. The sun, wearied of the elemental commotion, sank behind the green plains of the West. The 'great eve in heaven,' however, went not down without a dark brow hanging over its departing light. The rich flush of unearthly light had passed and the rain had ceased, when the solemn church bells pealed, the laughter of children rang out joyous, after the storm is heard, with the carol of birds, while the dark and purple weapon of the skies still darted illumination around the startling college, trying to rival its angles and leap into its dark windows."

# THE WISCONSIN ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY, STATE FIELD ASSEMBLY,

## July 29-30, 1910.

REPORT BY CHARLES E. BROWN, CURATOR.

Several years ago the Wisconsin Archaeological Society adopted the plan of holding summer field meetings of its members in various sections of Wisconsin which were known to be rich in prehistoric Indian remains. The purpose of these annual gatherings was doubly that of extending their acquaintance with the features of the local archaeological field, and of arousing an increased popular interest in the educational value and need of the scientific exploration and the preservation of its antiquities. The first of these state assemblies was held in the city of Waukesha, in the year 1906, and was very successful. In the following years, similar gatherings of persons interested in the state's antiquities were held at Menasha, at Beloit and at Baraboo, each in a different section of the state, the attendance and interest increasing from year to year. The effect of these meetings has been to create an intelligent interest in Wisconsin's Indian memorials in every quarter of the state. It has been the means of enlisting the coöperation of the women's clubs, of county historical societies and other local associations, and of cities and villages in protecting and permanently preserving the Indian evidences in their respective neighborhoods. Through a union of effort of these with the society, local public museums and collections have been established, and archaeological collections of great value saved to the state.

At the annual meeting of the society held in the city of Milwaukee, in March, 1910, an invitation was presented to it by its Madison members and by the State Historical Society, to hold a two-days field assembly during the summer in that charming Wisconsin city. It was urged, and rightfully, that no

more attractive place for a gathering of persons interested in the preservation of the state's archaeological history could be selected. The picturesque shorelands of the three beautiful lakes, Mendota, Monona and Wingra, in the midst of which the capital city of Wisconsin is located abound in sites of stone age and of more recent Indian villages, camps and workshops, and in splendid examples of the remarkable emblematic and other aboriginal earthworks for which the state is now so widely known among American archaeologists. There were formerly about Lake Mendota 30 groups of mounds, about Lake Monona 12, and about Lake Wingra 10. Lakes Waubesa and Kegonsa, which lie at a short distance from the city also have about their shores numerous earthen monuments. The total number of these conspicuous records of the past existing about the five lakes of the Madison chain has been estimated by local authorities at nearly one thousand. Many of these are still in existence, and a considerable number owe their preservation to the efforts of the local members of the society. There are also still remaining about these lakes several plots of Indian cornhills, remnants of trails and the site of an early fur-trading post.

The courteous invitation thus extended was accepted by the Wisconsin Archaeological Society and shortly thereafter a committee of Madison members and patrons was organized to assume charge of the necessary arrangements and program for the meeting.

## THE ASSEMBLY.

On Friday morning, July 29, the first day of the assembly, members of the society and their guests arriving from many Wisconsin cities gathered at the historical museum, in the State Historical Library building, and were here received by members of the Madison committee. Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, delivered to the visitors a warm address of welcome. The remainder of the morning was devoted to a tour of inspection, under the guidance of members of the State Historical Society's staff, of the library and museum, and of the map and manuscript, illustration, newspaper and other important departments of its labors.

At 2 P. M., the members and guests of the Wisconsin Archaeological Society to the number of about one hundred assembled at the State street entrance of the State Historical Library for the purpose of participating in a pilgrimage to Merrill Springs, for which carriages and 'busses had been provided. The long train of vehicles was lead by one in which were seated Mr. W. W. Warner, local vice-president of the society; Mr. Emilius O. Randall of Columbus, O., the distinguished guest of the Assembly; Miss Pauline Buell of Madison, and Prof. H. B. Lathrop of the University of Wisconsin. The drive was through the beautiful grounds of the University of Wisconsin, the first halt being made at Observatory hill an eminence giving an exceptionally fine view of the rugged, tree-topped shore lines of beautiful Lake Mendota. On the crest of this ridge encircled by walks and the pleasure drive are two animal shaped earthworks, all that now remain of a once interesting group of ancient Indian mounds formerly located in this vicinity, and the sites of which are at present occupied by Agricultural Hall. One of the effigies is that of a large bird with the wings outspread as if in the act of flying toward some distant tree or ridge-top. Its head points toward the south. The other effigy is considered to be intended to represent the turtle, an effigy type common to certain Wisconsin archaeologic areas. This mound is however peculiar among turtle-shaped mounds in possessing two caudal appendages. (See Fig. 1.) It measures about 95 feet in length from the end of its rounded head to the tip of its diverging tails, and about 43 feet in width across the widest portion of its body (across the limbs.) It is represented

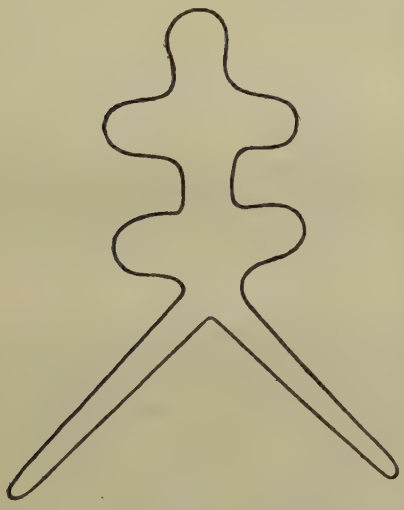


Fig. 1. Two Tailed Turtle.

in the act of crawling over the crest of the ridge. Neither of these curious earthworks is over one and a half feet in height at the highest portion of their bodies. These fine mounds, so favorably situated for permanent preservation have recently been marked at the society's request by neat wooden explanatory signs. They are visited each year by hundreds of University students and by visitors from many states.

The carriages here left the University grounds and proceeded southward across the city to the vicinity of Henry Vilas park, a picturesque public park on the shore of Lake Wingra. On a small public oval at the head of West Washington street, on the outskirts of this park, is situated a bear-shaped effigy mound proclaimed by Wisconsin archaeologists to be the finest example of its type in the Four Lakes region. (See Fig. 2.) It is situated at the western end of the oval, facing the boulevard, and is surrounded by a group of stately oaks. Here the pilgrims halted and proceeded with the ceremony of unveiling upon the mound of a descriptive bronze tablet.

FIG. 2. BEAR MOUND.

Prof. H. B. Lathrop delivered the presentation address, at the conclusion of which Miss Pauline Buell, a daughter of Mrs. Charles E. Buell of Madison, president of the Wisconsin Federation of Women's Clubs, very gracefully removed the silken flags, and exposed the tablet. It bears the following legend:

BEAR
WAH-ZHE-DAH.
Common Type of Ancient Indian Effigy Mound.
Length 82 Feet.
Marked by the Wisconsin Archæological Society,
July 29, 1910.

PROFESSOR H. B. LATHROP'S ADDRESS.

The mound of earth at our feet is the work of hands long quiet, a memorial the meaning of which by the time our race came to this region had been forgotten by the very aborigines themselves whose ancestors, it is believed, here built it. On some summer's day, how many ages ago we know not, there labored here a band of dark-skinned men and women, bearing with them in sacks and baskets the earth, toilsomely scooped up with blade-bones, shells, and bits of wood, of which this figure is composed. It is not difficult to imagine the scene about them as it must have appeared on that day. The soft homelike contours of the hills enclosing the lake below us cannot have greatly changed; some then as now were darkly hooded with a close growth of trees, but on most of them the oaks stood wide apart in the midst of an undergrowth of brambles and other rough bushes, or cast their shadows in park-like groves on grassy slopes. The brush was thick, no doubt, and sheltered bears and deer. The flocks of water birds on the lakes in spring and autumn were vast and noisy. There were no neatly painted houses ranged in order along straight white streets, and hollow trails led from one group to another of skin tepees near the lake shores, with great solitudes between them.

In the level meadow below us, and a few hundred yards to the southeast, on what was then the edge of the rushy lake, was one group of such tents, the village of the builders of this mound. The oaks still standing in the park sheltered the village in its later days. The ground beneath is full of the signs of the life of the inhabitants: flint implements and flakes and potsherds, the homely and pitiful wealth of the villagers. Between the two oaks at the end of the little grove on the west may yet be found the remnants of ancient hearthstones, cracked by fire. The lake near by provided the inhabitants with the fish and turtles which formed so large a part of their food and were so important in their agriculture. Their corn-field and their burial ground have not been discovered, but must have been not distant. These people must have led a tolerably settled life; the region about them was rich in all the elements of savage prosperity, and vigorous enemies pressed at no great distance upon their borders. Why should they roam far from so fair a home? On this earth, then grew the holy sentiments possible only where mankind have settled habitations. Here were homes and love, affection for the lake, the trees, the hills, for the graves of ancestors, devotion to the commonweal — sacred feelings, however crudely or dimly manifested, however mingled with savage folly and savage cruelty.

Dr. Samuel Johnson says, in words which as Matthew Arnold declares, should be written in letters of gold over every schoolhouse

door, "Whatever causes the past, the distant, or the future to predominate in our minds over the present, advances us in the dignity of thinking beings." Such words will not sound strange to the members of an archæological society. Its very existence is a call to its members to escape at times from the confusion and scattering of the spirit which come from the welter of daily business, to turn back to the simple elements of human nature in this day of many calling voices, and to become conscious for a moment of the long stream of life, unhasting, unresting, in which our own passes on as a drop on its way to the ocean. But it is not the mere outer life of the past which has an interest for us. What is the meaning of this heap of earth? With what thoughts was it built? Were the minds of those who made it alien to ours, or is this mound a little signal out of the past to let us know that the thoughts of the past are still in us? To these questions no such easy and clear answers can be given as to those concerned with the mere externals of the past, and yet they may be answered if not with completeness with certainty and with sufficiency.

Those who peopled the village and built the mound were Indians of the Winnebago tribe, members of the great Siouxan family, and in the western migration of these peoples from Virginia a band of the Winnebago stopped here on their way near their brethren, found the land good, unpeopled or dispeopled as it was, and here made their home. Those who settled this village were members of the Bear Clan; they had an ideal unity of descent from the Bear, had the bear spirit in them, and were all conceived of as kindred. In course of time, after their life had become rooted in this spot, some of them formed this image of the protecting bear spirit. The bear was their ancestor, their guardian, at once the bond of their community and the object of their religious devotion. Here this image, endowed with a mystic life, the home of the spirits of many ancestors, not a dead thing or a mere inanimate figure, watched over their village, removed from desecrating companionship and the disturbances of the village life, but near enough to exercise a watchful guardianship over it. To the west lay many kindred villages of the Bear Clan, often marked as this one by effigies. Rude as the mounds are, the artists who traced them were not without imagination and delight in the pictures they drew with so broad a stroke. The bear effigy—the black bear no doubt—is nearly always long-bodied and heavy-footed, but he is no mere conventional figure. Sometimes his head is lifted and he snuffs the air, sometimes it is thrust forward and at gaze. More often, as here, the great beast is stolidly plodding his way through the underbrush. Each effigy testifies to the fact that the artist was drawing sincerely and with delight what he had seen and knew intimately.

This mound is not in time so ancient as the Pyramids, but it is in spirit more primitive and more noble. It is more noble, since it is not

the work of drudging slaves, set to glorify the vanity and selfishness of a despot, but of a community symbolizing its bond of communal life and its religious devotion. It is more primitive, for it comes from that childhood of the race when men believed that human souls and magical intelligence dwelt in the beasts. It is more mysterious than the Pyramids: we know not the builders' names, or where their dust has been laid, though of their purpose we have some inkling.

Is this symbol of the sacred past and of the community life altogether strange to us? May we not find a chord in our hearts to respond to the sentiment which raised it?

The tablet we dedicate is the gift to the Society of a generous donor who desires his name to be kept private, and is accepted from the Society by the City of Madison as a pledge that this memorial of a far and dim antiquity will be preserved intact for the future. The flag covering the tablet, which Miss Pauline Buell is now to strip off, is a symbol of a bond of union higher, larger, and more ideal than that of the Bear Clan, but no closer or more holy than that to its members. Under that flag should live a union of spirit higher than a merely political one. It should be hospitable to the sacred associations of all the many peoples in our composite national life. We cannot afford to lose a benediction from our soil; our life will be the richer for realizing that this was consecrated ground ages before a white foot was set upon it.

At the close of this impressive ceremony the pilgrimage returned northward again to Lake Mendota, passing on its way thither several small groups of prehistoric mounds on University Heights, and on the State University grounds, and proceeded for a distance of several miles over the winding pleasure drive which here skirts the south shore of the lake until it reaches the somewhat noted resort long known from its clear springs, as Merrill Springs. Here the party was taken in charge by Mr. Ernest N. Warner, the owner of this fine tract of land.

There are here several extensive groups of Indian earthworks. The first to be inspected by the pilgrims was an interesting group of three bear-shaped effigies located in a small grassy enclosure on the lake side of the driveway. In a wooded pasture on the opposite side of the road is an irregularly disposed series of mounds consisting at this time of three long tapering linear earthworks, three conical (burial) mounds of small size, and two bird effigies. Most attractive of these earth-

works is a remarkable effigy intended to represent a goose in flight. (See Fig. 3.) Its dimensions, according to a recent survey are: length of body, 50 feet; length of head and neck, 108 feet. Its wings measure about 190 feet from tip to tip. It lies on the slope of a hill with its neck stretching toward to top. Its wings are twice bent, and there is no doubt in the minds of Wisconsin archaeologists concerning its identification. It is one of only a very few examples of its type occurring in the state and its preservation is therefore sought by the society. The largest of the tapering mounds is about 240 feet in length.

Passing through this pasture is also a remnant of a well-trodden Indian trail supposed to be that followed by Black Hawk and his Sac Indians in their flight toward the Wisconsin river, in 1832. On the adjoining farm land is the site of an early Indian camp. Traces of the flint workshops and of fire places are still to be seen here.

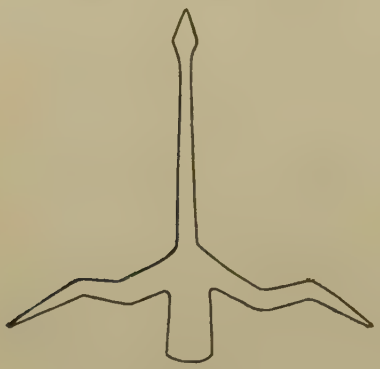


Fig. 3. A Goose.

On the edge of this farm, along the roadside are a line of several linear mounds, two bear effigies, a bird effigy, and a line of small conical mounds. A large bird, a bear, and two linear mounds are grouped upon the side and crest of a neighboring hill. After viewing these numerous works of the ancient Indians, the pilgrims returned to Madison.

## THE EVENING SESSION.

The evening session of the Assembly was held in the lecture hall of the State Historical Museum. The meeting was formally opened at 8 o'clock about 200 persons being in attendance. Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites, the first speaker, delivered an address entitled, "The Four Lakes Region in Aboriginal Days." He gave an interesting account of the Indian occupation of the region

about Madison, describing the locations of the camps, trail and fur-trade stations, as described by early travelers. He was followed by Mr. Emilius O. Randall, secretary of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, who protested that he was not a professional archaeologist, history being his bent, if he had any bent at all, and regretted that his place on the program was not filled by Prof. W. C. Mills, the successful and well-known curator of the Ohio Society. Nevertheless Mr. Randall succeeded in greatly interesting his audience with his scholarly address, "The Preservation of Prehistoric Remains in Ohio," in which he described the work of the Ohio Society in exploring and preserving its archaeological wealth. He told of the preservation in state park reservations of the widely celebrated Great Serpent Mound, and of Fort Ancient. He also gave an account of the recent productive explorations of the Adena mound, the Baum village site and of other noted remains and sites, under state auspices. A state archaeological atlas is now in preparation. The archaeological collections in the society's museum at Columbus are very extensive and valuable, and its publications widely read.

Prof. William Ellery Leonard, Assistant Professor of English in the University of Wisconsin, followed with the reading of a poem prepared especially for the Assembly. This is printed here with his kind permission.

PROFESSOR LEONARD'S POEM.

The white man came and builded in these parts
His house for government, his hall for arts,
His market-place, his chimneys, and his roads,
And garden plots before his new abodes,
With fields of grain behind them planted new,
Then, turned topographer, a map he drew;
And, turned historian, a book did frame;
And gave his high achievement unto fame.
Saying: "To these four ancient lakes I came,
And saw, and conquered, and with me was born,
Amid these prairies, and these woods forlorn,
A corporate life, a commonweal, a place
By me first founded for the human race."

We con his map, his book; for they have worth
Not less than many a civic tale of earth
Of cities builded in the long ago
Where still forever other waters flow.
Yet, if we read the life of states aright,
Man never yet has built upon a site
Unknown to man before him: ancient Rome,
Long ere 'twas founded, was for man a home;
The Cæsars, landing in the utmost isles
Of Briton, paved the long imperial miles
Between their military towns, among
An earlier folk whom time has left unsung.
And in still earlier days the Grecian stock,
(Their gods as yet uncarven in the rock,
Their lyres as yet dumb wood within the trees
Among the mountains o'er Ægean seas),
Settled to southward in a land even then
Alive with hardihood of sons of men
The rude Pelasgians, rearers of the stone—
In after eras to be overgrown
With weed and ivy—like at last the throne
Of marble Zeus himself. Again, they say
That fathoms deep in Egypt's oldest clay—
Fathoms beneath the sphinx and pyramid
Lie hid—or rather now no longer hid—
Proofs of man's home beside the reeds of Nile,
Ere ever those Dynasties whose numbered file
Of uncouth names we learn by rote had come,
With Isis and Osiris. Hold the thumb
Upon the map of Egypt, and then trace
With the forefinger how another race,
Making its way between the rivers twain—
Down the low Tigris and Euphrates plain—
Builds that Assyrian kingdom to the sea
Where the mysterious Sumerians be.
In short, wherever a mightier people go
To lands of promise, there's a Jericho
Before whose elder walls their trumpets first must blow.
So here: our sires who felled the forest trees
Received from dark-skinned aborigines
The lamp of life. And though we well may say,
"That lamp burns brighter in our hands today,"
We well may add, in reverence for the great
Primordial law that binds all life to fate,
"That lamp of life, though wild and wan its flame,
Still burned in other hands before we came."

Here was a desert only in the name—
And from the view-point of that narrow pride
Which names a strange thing chiefly to deride.
Here was no desert: every hill and vale,
Each lake and watercourse, each grove and trail,
Was know to thousands who, like me and you,
Watched the great cloud-drifts in the central blue
And sun and moon and stars; like you and me,
Laughed, wept and danced and planned the thing to be.
The whole wide landscape, rock, and spring, and plain,
Lay long since chartered in the human brain,
And had its names, its legendary lore,
Which countless children from their fathers bore
Down to their children's children.

So man's mind
Even then was more than nature, brute and blind,
By virtue of that element of thought
Through which our own devices have been wrought.
Here in the villages by wood and shore,
With infants toddling through the wigwam door,
Were arts and crafts, in simpler form, but still
The same we practice in the shop and mill—
Here bowl and pitcher, moccasin and belt,
Mattock and spade and club and pipe and celt,
Fashioned not only for the work to do,
But often with many a tracery and hue,
To please that sense of something in the eye
We now call beauty—though we know not why.
And here was seed-time in the self-same loam
We plow today; here too was harvest home.
Here were assemblies of the counsellors;
Here unsung heroes led the hosts to wars.
Here gathered at seasons family and clan
To serve the god from whence its line began,
Or bury its chieftains; for the Gods, the dead,
Were unto them, as us, yet more than bread,
Yet more than drink and raiment, as it seems,
And they, as we do, lived in part by dreams.
And the high places round these lakes attest
The age-old mysteries of the human breast.

Thus, if you'll fill the picture out I've drawn,
Touch it with color and atmosphere of dawn,
You'll see an immemorial world of man,
Perhaps but portion of a larger plan

Of which we too may but a portion be
In that sum-total solidarity
Of human beings spread across the earth
In generations, birth succeeding birth—
The living who raise the citadels we know,
The dead whose bones earth bosomed long ago.

And this good company that meets today
Proves the large truth of what I've sought to say;
For why should we, whose daily tasks alone
So press upon us that we scarcely own
The present hour, still take on us to gaze
Back on the parted, the forgotten days;
Why should we leave the quest for daily bread,
To quest for relics of the savage dead;
Why should we leave our figuring for gold
To figure out a vanished world of old?—
Except that thus in human nature lurks,
Except that thus in human nature works
Some sense of common comradry and kin
With human life, wherever it has been,
And in the use of such a sense we find
Enlargement for our human heart and mind.

Dr. Carl Russell Fish, professor of American history in the University of Wisconsin, furnished the final number on the program. His very instructive address entitled, "The Relation of Archaeology to History, is here presented.

ADDRESS OF PROFESSOR FISH.

The derivation of the word archæology gives little idea of its present use. "The study of antiquity" is at once too broad in scope and too limited in time, for the followers of a dozen other "ologies" are studying antiquity, while the archæologist does not confine himself to that period. The definition of the word in the new English dictionary corrects the first of these errors, but emphasizes the second, for it describes it as: "The scientific study of remains and monuments of the prehistoric period." This obviously will not bear examination, as the bulk of archæological endeavor falls within the period which is considered historical, and I cannot conceive any period prehistoric, about which archæology, or any other science, can give us information. Actually, time has nothing whatever to do with the limitations of archæology, and to think of it as leaving off where history begins, is to misconceive them

both. The only proper limitation upon archæology lies in its subject matter, and I conceive that it cannot be further defined than as: "The scientific study of human remains and monuments."

In considering the relations of the science to history, I do not wish to enter into any war of words as to claims of "sociology", and "anthropology" and "history" to be the inclusive word, covering the totality of man's past, but simply to use history as it is generally understood at present and as its professors act upon it. Certainly we are no longer at the stage where history could be defined as "Past Politics," and it is equally certain that there are fields of human activity which are not actually treated in any adequate way by the historian. The relations of the two do not depend on the definition of history, but the more broadly it is interpreted, the more intimate their relationship becomes. The sources of history are three-fold, written, spoken, and that which is neither written nor spoken.

To preserve and prepare the first, is the business of the philologist, the archivist, the paleographer, the editor, and experts in a dozen subsidiary sciences. The historian devotes so much the larger part of his time to this class of material, that the period for which written materials exists is sometimes spoken of as the historical period, and the erroneous ideas of archæology which I have quoted, become common.

Least important of the three, is the spoken or traditional, though if we include all the material that was passed down for centuries by word of mouth before being reduced to writing, such as the Homeric poems or the Norse sagas, it includes some of the most interesting things we know of the past. In American history, such material deals chiefly with the Indian civilizations, and its collection is carried on chiefly by the anthropologists. In addition, nearly every family preserves a mass of oral traditions running back for about a hundred years; and there is a small body of general information, bounded by about the same limit, which has never yet been put into permanent form. The winnowing of this material to secure occasional kernels of historic truth that it yields is as yet a neglected function.

The material that is neither written nor oral falls to the geologist and the archæologist. Between these two sciences there is striking similarity, but their boundaries are clear; the geologist deals with natural phenomena, the archæologist with that which is human, and which may, for convenience, be called monumental. The first duty of the archæologist is to discover such material and to verify it, the next is to secure its preservation, preferably its actual tangible preservation, but if that is not possible, by description. Then comes the task of studying it, classifying and arranging it, and making it ready for use. At this point the function of the archæologist ceases, and the duty of the historian begins; to interpret it, and to bring it into harmony with the recognized body of information regarding the past. It is not necessary that different

individuals in every case do these different things. We must not press specialization too far. Nearly every historian should be something of an archæologist, and every archæologist should be something of an historian. When the archæologist ceases from the preparation of his material, and begins the reconstruction of the past, he commences to act as an historian; he has to call up a new range of equipment, a new set of qualifications.

The fields in which the services of archæology are most appreciated are those to which written and oral records do not reach. Its contributions in pressing back the frontiers of knowledge are incalculable, and are growing increasingly so with every passing year. To say nothing of what it has told us of the civilizations of Egypt and Assyria, it has given to history within the last few years the whole great empire of the Hittites. We have learned more of Mycenæan civilization from archæology than from Homer. Practically all we know of the Romanization of Britain is from such sources, and that process, not long ago regarded almost as a myth, is now a well articulated bit of history. In America, within the last thirty-five years, by the joint work of the archæologist and the anthropologist, many of the points long disputed concerning the Indians have been set at rest, more knowledge of them has been recovered than was ever before supposed possible, and new questions have been raised which invite renewed activity.

From all over the world, moreover, remains of the past, amounting to many times those now known, call for investigation. It is safe to say that within the next fifty years more sensational discoveries will be made by following material, than written, records.

It is not, however, only in the periods void of written sources that archæology can perform its services. It is in the period of classical antiquity that we find the combination happiest. There, indeed, it is difficult to find an historian who does not lay archæology under tribute, or an archæologist who is not lively to the historical bearing of his work. When we come to the medieval period the situation is less ideal, the historian tends to pay less attention to monuments, and the archæologist to become an antiquarian, intent upon minutia, and losing sight of his ultimate duty. In the modern period, the historian, self-satisfied with the richness of his written sources, ignores all others, and the archæologist, always with a little love for the unusual and for the rust of time, considers himself absolved from further work.

As one working in this last period, I wish to call the attention of American archæologists to some possibilities that it offers. Abundant as are our resources they do not tell the whole story of the last couple of centuries even in America, and we have monuments which are worthy of preservation and which can add to our knowledge of our American ancestors, as well as of our Indian predecessors. Even in Wisconsin something may be obtained from such sources.

The most interesting of our monumental remains are, of course, the architectural. Everybody is familiar with the log cabin, though something might yet be gathered as to the sites selected for them, and minor differences in construction. Less familiar is the cropping out of the porch in front, the spreading of the ell behind, and the two lean-to wings, then the sheathing with clap-boards, the evolution of the porch posts into Greek columns, and the clothing of the whole with white paint, all representing stages in the prosperity of the occupants. In nearly every older Wisconsin township may be found buildings representing every one of these stages, the older ones indicating poor land or unthrifty occupants and being generally remote from the township center, or else serving as minor farm buildings behind more pretentious frame or brick structures. In the same way the stump fence, the snake fence and the wire fence, denote advance or the retardation of progress. Other studies of economic value may be made from the use of different kinds of building materials. The early use of local stone is one of the features of Madison, its subsequent disuse was due not so much to the difficulty of quarrying as to the decreased cost of transportation making other materials cheaper, and was coincident with the arrival of the railroads. Very interesting material could be obtained from the abandoned river towns, still preserving the appearance of fifty years ago, and furnishing us with genuine American ruins.

On the whole the primitive log cabins were necessarily much alike, but when the log came to be superseded by more flexible material, the settler's first idea was to reproduce the home or the ideal of his childhood, and the house tends to reveal the nationality of its builder. Just about Madison there are farm houses as unmistakably of New England as if found in the "Old Colony," and others as distinctly of Pennsylvania or the South. I am told of a settlement of Cornishmen, which they have made absolutely characteristic, and even the automobilist can often distinguish the first Wisconsin home of the German, the Englishman or the Dutchman. Where have our carpenters, our masons and finishers come from, and what tricks of the trade have each contributed?

Such studies reveal something also of the soul of the people. Not so much in America, to be sure, as in Europe, where national and individual aspirations find as legitimate expression in architecture, as in poetry; and less here in the West, which copied its fashions, than in the East, which imported them. Still we have a few of the Greek porticoed buildings which were in part a reflection of the influence of the first French Republic and in part represented the admiration of the Jeffersonian democracy for the republics of Greece; but that style almost passed away before Wisconsin was settled. We have a number of the composite porticoed and domed buildings which succeeded and represented perhaps the kinship between the cruder democracy of Jackson

and that of Rome. We have many buildings both public and private, some extremely beautiful, which reflect the days in the middle of the nineteenth century when the best minds in America drew inspiration from the Italy of the Renaissance, when Story and Crawford, and Hawthorne and Margaret Fuller lived and worked in Rome. The succeeding period when the French mansard stands for the dominating influence on things artistic, or rather inartistic, of the Second Empire, is everywhere illustrated; while the revival of English influence, in the Queen Anne; the beginning of general interest in American history, in the colonial; the influence of the war with Spain; in the square cement; and many other waves of thought and interest, can be pointed out in almost any town. A careful study of its architecture will nearly always reveal the approximate date of foundation, the periods of prosperity and depression, the origin of the inhabitants, and many other facts of real importance.

I have spoken so far of the contribution of archæology to the science of history. Fully as great are its possibilities along the lines of popularization and illustration. The work of neither archæology nor history can go on without popular support, and the local appeal is one of the strongest that can be made. Not every town has an interesting history, but almost every one, however ugly, can be made historically interesting to its inhabitants, if its streets can be made to tell its history, and by reflection something of the history of the country, which may be done merely by opening their eyes to their chirography. It should be part of the hope of the local archæologist to make his neighbors and his neighbor's children see history in everything about them, and if this is accomplished we may hope gradually to arouse a deeper and more scientific interest, and a willingness to encourage that research into the whole past, in which historian and archæologist are jointly interested.

On a recent visit to Lake Koshkonong I found my interest very much stimulated by the admirable map and plates illustrating the Indian life about its shores, and it has occurred to me that one extremely valuable way of arousing general interest and of arranging our archæological data, would be in a series of such minute maps. For instance the first in the series would give purely the physical features, the next, on the same scale, would add our Indian data — mounds, village sites, cultivated fields, arrow factories and battle-fields, trails and any other indications that might appear — then one on the entrance of the white men, with trading posts, garrisons, first settlements and roads, the next would begin with the school house and end with the railroad, and one or two more would complete the set. Such studies of the material changes of a locality, would not form an embellishment, but the basis of its history.

Another work might be undertaken through the local high school. The pupils might be encouraged to take photographs of houses, fences,

bridges and other objects, interesting for the reasons I have pointed out, as well as all objects of aboriginal interest. These should always be dated and the place where they were taken noted. In fact, a map should be used, and by numbers or some such device the pictures localized. These photographs properly classified and arranged would give such a picture of the whole life of the community in terms of tangible remains as could not fail to interest its inhabitants as well as serve the student. In the newer portions of the state, particularly in the north it would be possible to take pictures of the first clearing, and then file them away and a few years later take another picture of the farmstead with its improvements and so on until it reached a condition of stability. Thus to project into the future the work of a science whose name suggests antiquity, may seem fantastic, but even the future will ultimately become antiquity. We have still in Wisconsin some remnants of a frontier stage of civilization which is passing and cannot be reproduced, and to provide materials to express it to the future cannot be held superfluous. If we imagine the joy that it would give to us to find a photograph of the site of Rome before that city was built, of one of the great Indian villages of Wisconsin before the coming of the white man, we can form a conception of the value of such an ordered and scientific collection as I have suggested to the future student of the civilization of our own day.

At the conclusion of the program an informal reception was tendered the guests by the Madison members of the Wisconsin Archaeological Society, light refreshments being served by the ladies of the historical library staff. The entire museum was thrown open to the visitors, who spent the remainder of the evening in inspecting its historical and anthropological collections. The historical museum had its beginning in 1854, and has maintained a persistent and progressive growth since that date. It occupies the entire upper floor of the State Historical Library building, and has eight exhibition halls. Its chief aim is popular education along the lines of Wisconsin history. It takes prominent rank as an educational institution, and entertains from 60,000 to 80,000 visitors each year.

In addition to its regular collections the museum had prepared for the occasion of the Assembly a series of special exhibits. These included the original surveys and maps, and correspondence relating to Wisconsin antiquities of Dr. Increase A. Lapham, the state's distinguished pioneer antiquarian, and of his

associates, Dr. P. R. Hoy, Moses Strong, Dr. S. P Lathrop, W. H. Canfield and others, these occupying several large cases; a screen exhibit illustrating the archaeological features of the Four Lakes region; a collection of Belgian "eoliths," loaned by Dr. Frederick Starr; a collection of photogravure reproductions of the E. S. Curtis photographs of North American Indians; a collection of chipped flint and pecked stone implements from Japan,

INDIAN ROOM, HISTORICAL MUSEUM.

and a number of smaller exhibits. All of these were greatly appreciated by the visitors.

### THE SECOND DAY'S PILGRIMAGE.

On the morning of July 30, the second day of the Assembly, a body of about 150 members and guests of the society gathered at the Wisconsin University boat-house for a pilgrimage to points of archaeological and historical interest on the north shore of Lake Mendota. They were conveyed across the lake to the State Hospital grounds at Mendota by a fleet of launches. Arriving on

the grounds they were taken in charge by Dr. Charles Gorst, the superintendent, and Mrs. Gorst, and permitted to inspect the buildings of this model institution under their guidance.

There are upon this beautiful tract of state property, many acres in extent, several particularly interesting groups of Indian earthworks, the most important of which is permanently preserved upon the large and well-cared for lawn extending from the lake bank to the main hospital, a distance of about a quarter of a mile. Among the effigies in this series are three bird-shaped mounds, all of immense proportions, and others representing the deer, squirrel, bear and panther. Most interesting of these is the large so-called "eagle" effigy. (See Fig. 6.) This remarkable aboriginal monument is the largest bird-shaped mound in Wisconsin. Its great body is 131 feet in length and its wings measure 624 feet from tip to tip. Its body is nearly six feet high. Its construction by the primitive inhabitants of this site must have cost an immense amount of labor.

FIG. 6. EAGLE EFFIGY.

Comfortably seated upon the body of this huge mound beneath the shade of the majestic elm and basswood trees which surround it, the archaeological pilgrims listened to a brief address by Mr. Arlow B. Stout, chairman of the society's Research Committee, in which he explained what was being done to complete surveys and explorations of the Indian remains about Madison. Rev. Mr. F. A. Gilmore then delivered a very instructive address at the close of which he presented to the state, in the name of the society and of its donor, Mr. James M. Pyott, a prominent member, the fine metal tablet provided for the marking of this mound. Miss Genevieve Gorst, a daughter of Dr. and Mrs. Charles Gorst, removed the national colors and exposed to view the tablet which had been mounted upon a small monument placed upon the body of the mound. It bears the following inscription:

EAGLE EFFIGY.

Largest Indian mound of its type in Wisconsin.
Body 131 feet. Wing spread 624 feet.
Marked by the Wisconsin Archæological Society,
July 30, 1910.

ADDRESS OF REV. F. A. GILMORE.

Archæology and theology have sometimes been grouped together, since both are said to deal with subjects of no interest to modern men. As a theologian I should be glad to refute this idea: but though I know you are all eager to hear me discourse on theology, you must bear with me if I disappoint you. Suffice it to say that theology or the attempt to answer the ultimate questions which life puts to us, can never become obsolete.

Archæology is by no means a useless branch of learning. It is, to be sure, the study of things that lie far behind us, "in the dark backward and abysm of time"; but these things have to do with the life of humanity. These mounds are the records and symbols of human thought. Hence we think that every cultivated man should know something about them. For what is culture? It is the knowledge of what the race has thought and done. Much is claimed in these days for practical studies such as farming, engineering and the like. But these can never replace such subjects as language, history, philosophy, art and archæology for it is these that give us insight into our vast human inheritance. By them we enter the life of the race. Archæological studies may not butter anyone's bread (unless it be Secretary Brown's) they do give us the key to the evolution of man.

Effigy mounds are found in several parts of the United States — by far the greater number are in Wisconsin. Here was an epidemic of mound building. In the early days they were thought to have been built by the ten "Lost Tribes of Israel"; or by a prehistoric race far superior to the Indians in civilization; or by the Aztecs before they migrated to Mexico. The "consensus of the competent" now pronounces them to have been the work of the Winnebago Indians, probably a few centuries before the landing of Columbus.

It is a curious fact that the French missionaries and fur traders who were in Wisconsin as early as 1634 — only fourteen years after the settlement of Plymouth, Massachusetts — make no mention of the mounds. The Indians of that time did not make effigy mounds and seem to have lost all knowledge of them. They did not reverence them for they built their villages, planted their corn fields and buried their dead in them.

These mounds belong to a class of venerated objects called Totems. Totem is a word of Wisconsin origin and comes from the Chippewa language. It has now passed into general use in the terminology of science. It means, "my protector" or "my familiar patron". Totemism is found among primitive people as far apart as Australia and Africa, India and aboriginal America. A Totem may be a vegetable or an animal, a war club or other object, and even the elements like the rain or sunshine. These objects were tattooed or burned on the body, scratched on the walls of caves, painted on the wigwam, the canoe or paddle, cut upon poles and erected in front of the dwelling. With certain Indian tribes the Tōtem was formed in effigy, notably by the Siouxan tribes. Sometimes they were formed of stones laid out in the outline of a gigantic animal or bird. Among the Winnebagoes, a branch of the Siouxan stock, it was the fashion to form them out of the earth.

There are individual Totems, sex Totems, and Clan Totems. These mounds are of the latter class. A clan Totem was some bird, animal or fish or weapon regarded as the dwelling place of a spirit or divinity. This divinity was the ancestor of all the members of the clan. The clan members were thus bound together in a common blood relationship. They regarded each other as Brothers, and looked to the deity represented by the Totem, for protection and help. Marriage was generally forbidden within the clan. Children in some tribes were of the father's Totem; more often of the mother's. When a clan grew in numbers it might divide, the new formed clan taking a Totem allied to the original one. Thus the turtle clan among the Iroquois comprised the mud turtle clan, the snapping turtle clan, the yellow turtle clan, etc. This group of clans is sometimes called a phratry. A large Indian tribe would thus be formed of several phratries and these of several clans.

The clan was the unit of the tribal life, on the march and in the arrangement of the village. When the Omahas marched a certain clan order was observed, and when they camped the twelve clans took prescribed places in the circle like the figures on a clock dial. We might think of the Totem as the Stem and the religious customs and the social laws of the tribe, as the branches growing out of it. Or using another figure we may call the Totem idea the tissue of the common tie which made a unit of the clan or tribe. Religious customs connected with the Totem.

The Totem figured in the ceremonies at the birth of children. In the deer clan of the Omahas the infant was painted with spots to imitate a fawn. Young lads had their hair cut out to imitate the horns of a deer, the legs and tail of a turtle or other Totem. At puberity there was an important ceremony initiating the youth into the clan membership. Members of the clan dressed to imitate the Totem, danced and mimicked the actions and voice of the animal. Sometimes the novice was clothed

in the animal's skin and laid in a grave; the name of the Totem was then shouted aloud. At this name the youth arose from the grave, signifying his new life as a clan member, the passing from youth to the higher estate of manhood; or perhaps that the Totem had power to give him life beyond the grave. In some tribes there seems to have been a certain formula of words and gestures as a part of this ceremony. This may have been a secret sign by means of which a person could pass from clan to clan and find entertainment and fellowship, even where the language was different. In Australia, by means of this Totem formula, a man might travel for a thousand miles and find friends of the same Totem.

Death ceremonies. The buffalo clan of the Omahas wrapped the dying man in a buffalo robe and said, "You are now going to your ancestors the buffaloes. Be strong." We find the burial mounds placed close to the Totem effigies as if for protection.

The custom of taboo spring out of veneration for the Totem. The red maize clan of the Omahas will not eat of that grain. It would give them sore mouths they say. Members of the deer clan in the same tribe will not use the skin of a deer for robes or moccasins nor its oil for the hair, but may eat the meat for food. The Totem animal was sometimes kept in captivity and carefully fed. In Java the red dog clan had a red dog in each family and no one might strike it with impunity. A dead Totem was properly buried. In Samoa a man of the owl clan finding a dead owl will mourn for it as for a human being. This does not mean that the Totem is dead; he lives in all the other owls. This is a characteristic of Totemism, to reverence the species; whereas reverence for a single animal or object is a characteristic or Fetichism. When the Totem was to be killed for food apologies were made to it. Or flattery would be used, as when the fisherman before setting his lines to catch the Totem fish would call to them, "Ho! you fish, you are all chiefs." The Totem helped in hunting; also in sickness. The medicine man imitated the motions and voice of the Totem to drive out the sickness.

Omens came from the Totem. An eagle flying toward a war party was a sign to go back; if it flew with them it was a sign to go on. A curious ceremony took place among the Omahas. A turtle was decorated with strips of red cloth tied to its head, legs and tail, tobacco was placed on its back and it was headed toward the south. This ceremony was intended to drive away the fog! The logical connection between cause and effect would puzzle a Whately or Jevons to discover; but it was doubtless there to the Indian mind.

When running foot races the Indians often carried an image of the Totem on the breast or back. In signing treaties the Totem was affixed as a signature.

Before drawing the conclusion from these facts I wish to say a word about the art of these mounds and their date. The Indian builders certainly had an artistic sense. We find that land animals such as the bear, deer, panther, etc., are always formed with the legs on one side, and with rare exceptions the legs are never separated. Amphibious creatures, the turtle, lizard, etc., have the legs spread out, two on each side. Birds have the wings wide spread or curving and the feet do not appear. The attitudes of the animals is not the same for all. There is artistic variety. Sometimes they are standing still, again they are prowling. In several localities in this state two panthers are built close together and their attitudes shows them in combat. In other places they are guarding caches of food or the village enclosure.

We have no clear light as to the date of these works. They were erected when the land features were about the same as now. About the same distribution of forest and prairie, level of soil and depth of streams and lakes. There were the same animals. Neither extinct nor domestic animals are represented in the effigies. After the days of the mastodon, and after the present topographical features were established, with the same fauna and flora as found by the white men at the time of their first contact with the Indians, but before the white men came these mounds were built.

Sometimes we find several similar effigies in the same locality. This may mark some favorite gathering place of the aborigines, as at Lake Koshkonong where several clans having the same Totem gathered for fishing. Again they are found in maple groves where the Indians came for the sugar. Madison and the region of the four lakes, called Tycoperah by the natives, was a favorite locality. Here are five eagle mounds, several bears, panthers, squirrels, etc. We may imagine the region to have been a sort of capitol in prehistoric days — giving laws and knowledge to those who stayed at home as it does today.

The old Greek mathematician quite confounded his contemporaries when he measured the distance from the shore to a ship in the offing without leaving the land. In somewhat similar wise we can pretty closely approximate the distance from us of the mound builders and get a fairly correct idea of the folk themselves. By the help which we get from archæology and the study of Indian life since the advent of the whites, and particularly the institution of Totemism, we can reconstruct that vanished life.

This region was occupied by a homogeneous people, probably the Winnebagoes, its various clans and clan groups spread from the Wisconsin river to the Illinois line, and from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi. They were not harried and driven by their enemies, but lived in comparative peace. The clans moved about, in Spring settling in some sugar grove, in Summer moving to a fishing place, in Winter remaining at the regular villages. At all these places they made their

Totems in the soil. Certain spots, as at Aztalan and Lake Horicon were the seats of large permanent settlements with earth walls and raised earth platforms for the council house or medicine tent. They had corn fields and garden beds but no domestic animals. Their mode of life, clothing, houses, implements, their religious ideas were those of the Indian at the time of Columbus. They belonged to the stone age but had passed out of the lowest stage of barbarism to the somewhat settled life of communities with agriculture. Quite certainly the mounds where we now stand marked the site of a community. Secretary Brown with Mr. August Roden and myself dug into a refuse heap a few rods west of this spot, where we found clam shells, bones and pieces of pottery. These effigies, the buffalo, deer, squirrel and eagle were the clan Totems of that village. Here were held the clan dances and ceremonies; here the youth were initiated into clan membership, and given the secret words which assured him a welcome in other clans with the same Totem. Here the young "eagle" wooed the maiden of the deer clan, for he might not marry one of his own Totem.

This eagle mound is a clan Totem of that village. A populous clan it must have been to erect so huge a work. The eagle has always been admired for its strength and courage. Wheeling far aloft or resting on motionless wing it is an impressive sight. And when, seeing the fish hawk rise with its prey it pursues it, and falling like a thunderbolt snatches the dropped fish ere it touches the water, it suggests the supernatural even to a modern mind.

The eagle has been widely used as an emblem. It was perched on the Roman standards. It is the national emblem of Russia, Prussia, Austria and the United States. When in 1782 Congress chose the eagle to be our national emblem it did not realize that it had been used in the same way in this country centuries before. Wisconsin had a celebrated eagle carried to the front in the civil war by one of its regiments, and known to every school child as "Old Abe, the war eagle of Wisconsin". May we not believe that "Old Abe, captured in the forests of Wisconsin was a lineal descendant of that majestic, pristine bird whose image is outstretched here at our feet?

There are five eagle mounds in the vicinity of Madison; others are found in different places in the state. One at Mauston has a wing spread of 325 feet; one in Sauk county spreads 400 feet; one at the southeast end of Lake Monona reaches 450 feet. This one before us is the mammoth of them all; its wings extend 624 feet from tip to tip and is the largest in the state, as well, I believe, as in the world.

John Fiske has reminded us that in the American Indian as he was at the coming of the Europeans, we have the man of the stone age. That period of human development which preceded civilization in Europe, and which is only known by its scattered vestiges in caves and river beds — was greatly prolonged on this continent. Indian cul-

ture, Indian social life, religion, mythology, art, etc., reproduce and preserve for us the features of that savage state which lies so far back in Europe — beyond all written history. It was a culture like that of the mound builders out of which arose the civilization of Greece and Rome. This is the great value of archæology and fully justifies the interest we take in Indian remains and our efforts to preserve them. A large lizard mound which once stood on the capital park has been destroyed. This was an "unpardonable sin", and could only happen because of the general ignorance. It proves how,

> "Evil is wrought by want of thought
> As well as want of heart."

It is told of a teacher from another state, that seeing the mounds where we now stand he took them to be bunkers on a golf course! Doubtless he imagined them to be some of the improvements to the hospital made under the superintendency of Dr. Gorst.

We take great satisfaction in unveiling this tablet marking the hugest mound of its type in existence. This tablet is presented by Mr. James M. Pyott of Chicago, who has been a member of the Wisconsin Archæological Society for many years and has always taken a deep interest in its work.

At noon a fine picnic dinner was served by a committee of the Madison ladies upon tables placed beneath the trees upon the lawn. After its conclusion, Mr. Stout conducted the visitors to the various mounds upon the grounds and giving information as to their character and dimensions. At 1:30 P. M., the launches were again boarded and a trip of several miles across the water made to Morris Park, a well-known beauty spot upon the north shore of the lake. At this place ample time was given to view under the guidance of the Messrs. A. B. Stout and Prof. Albert S. Flint, a considerable number of burial, linear and effigy mounds. The latter include a single bird effigy and a number of large effigies of the panther type. The conical mounds located here include some of the most prominent and best preserved about the Madison Lakes. A plot of Indian cornhills located at the southeast corner of the property greatly interested the pilgrims. Morris Park has recently been laid out in summer resort lots by a Madison real estate dealer. The Society is making a determined effort to save the mounds.

A return was then made to the launches and the pilgrims conveyed along the shore of the lake to West Point, situated at its northwest corner.

Arriving at this attractive spot, they were welcomed by Hon. Henry M. Lewis, whose summer home is located here. His cottage stands in the midst of a series of earthworks which consists of four tapering linear mounds, a small burial mound and a bird effigy. Two of the tapering mounds extend beneath the cottage. Judge Lewis, in his informal address,

Fig. 7. Indian Burial Mound.

gave an interesting account of the Indian history of the region immediately surrounding his home, describing the early Winnebago village, and a council held at the neighboring Fox Bluff with them by Maj. Henry Dodge, on May 25, 1832, for the purpose of urging them not to participate in the then impending Black Hawk war.

Miss Louise Kellogg entertained the guests with a history of the fur-trading post located in early days near West Point. President Arthur Wenz, being introduced by Secretary Charles

E. Brown, briefly explained the aims and work of the Wisconsin Archaeological Society. He expressed the grateful appreciation of the organization to the committee of local archaeologists and their ladies, and to all others who had contributed to the great success of the Madison meeting. At the request of the pilgrims, Dr. Frederick Starr of the University of Chicago, was then called upon and responded with a stirring address. He explained the educational and scientific value of

Fig. 8. Cottage of Mr. Lewis and Adjacent Mounds.

Wisconsin's ancient animal-shaped and other prehistoric Indian monuments, and deplored their destruction through the operations of money-grabbing "land sharks" and other agencies. Wisconsin citizens had cause, he stated, to be justly proud of the work of the state archaeological society in creating a state-wide interest in their protection and preservation. He discussed at length the authorship and totemic significance of the emblematic mounds.

## THE HARRISON TABLE ROCK AND BALL'S BATTLEFIELD.

[On Saturday, September 10, 1910, the anniversary of Perry's Victory on Lake Erie, 1813, two of the most important historical sites on the route of the Harrison Trail through Sandusky County were marked with bronze tablets and appropriate unveiling exercises by the ladies of the Colonel George Croghan Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution. We publish the report of the proceedings as appeared in *The Fremont Daily News*—EDITOR.]

The two sites recognized in the anniversary proceedings were those of Ball's battlefield, near the residence of Birchard Havens in Ballville, and the rock known as the Harrison mess table, located on the crossroad about six miles from Fremont, south of the Greensburg pike, near the residences of Hugh Havens and Webb C. Smith.

The exercises Saturday were not only a tribute to the heroes of nearly a century ago, but also commemorated Perry's victory, which occurred September 10, 1813.

The tablets are of bronze, about two feet in length and a foot wide, and bear the following inscriptions:

"General Harrison's mess table on the Indian trail leading from the headquarters of Major General Harrison at Ft. Seneca on the Sandusky river to Ft. Meigs on the Maumee river. War of 1812. Erected by Colonel George Croghan chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution."

"Ball's Battlefield, Major Ball's squadron 2nd Light Dragoons U. S. army while escorting Col. Wells' 71th U. S. infantry from Major General Harrison's headquarters at Fort Seneca to relieve Major Croghan of the command of Ft. Stephenson for alleged insubordination in refusing to evacuate the fort, was ambushed by Indians near this spot, but gallantly charging them, killed seventeen with the sabre, 30th July, 1813. Erected by Col. Geo. Croghan chapter, D. A. R."

Under the old elm in front of the Havens residence in Ballville has been placed the hugh boulder on which the bronze tablet was unveiled in commemoration of Ball's battle. The exercises began at 10:30 and were most imposing and appropriate, the presence of a squad from Co. K, under the command of Lieut. R. B. H. Corey, giving an added spirit of patriotism to the affair.

A blast from the bugle announced the opening of the pro-

HARRISON'S MESS-TABLE ROCK.

gram, which began with the singing of America and a prayer by Father Jenkins of St. Paul's parish church.

THE ADDRESS OF WELCOME.

Mrs. Louis A. Dickinson, Regent of Colonel George Croghan Chapter, presided and her address of welcome was as follows:

In behalf of Colonel George Croghan Chapter I have the pleasure of extending to each one present, to the members of the Daughters of the American Revolution, to our state regent and state chairman of historic sites, to the members of the Sandusky County Historical Association, to our county and townspeople, a most cordial welcome to these

dedicatory exercises in honor of the battle which occurred near this spot on July 30, 1813, when Major Ball's squadron, Second Light Dragoons, U. S. Army, while escorting Colonel Wells of the Seventeenth U. S. Infantry, from Major General Harrison's headquarters at Fort Seneca to relieve Major Croghan of the command of Fort Stephenson for alleged insubordination in refusing to evacuate the fort, was ambushed by Indians, but gallantly charged them and killed seventeen with the saber.

It is a source of much gratification to know that so many are interested in this work and to know that the deeds of the men of nearly a century ago are not forgotten in the hearts of the people. It is one of the objects of the D. A. R. to perpetuate the memory of the spirit of the men who helped to achieve American independence by the acquisition and protection of historical spots and by the erection of markers. In dedicating this marker we are endeavoring to place before this generation and the generations to come, a memorial which will ever call to mind the great deeds performed by the men of those early days which aided in determining the fate of the Northwest, and the great debt of gratitude we shall ever owe to them. And as this stone, which we hope will endure for ages, is unveiled, may there be planted in the hearts of each one present seeds of patriotism, civic pride, hope and love which will grow and blossom, not only in our hearts, but also in the hearts of those who will follow after us.

Mrs. Clayton R. Truesdall, state regent of the D. A. R., spoke for the state society and her first appearance before her own chapter in such an office was greeted enthusiastically by the members of the chapter. Her remarks were most excellent and given in her usual attractive and charming manner.

ADDRESS OF MRS. TRUESDALL.

Several years ago in conversation with a friend on literary style, Mathew Arnold said: "People think I can teach them style. What stuff it all is! Have something to say and say it as clearly as you can. That is the only secret of style." So this morning is no time for any special oratory but an occasion while many are forced to stand, to speak briefly as ambassador of the Daughters of the Revolution in Ohio.

Our state has been one of the greatest battlegrounds in history. Here the contest took place between the Indians and the advancing civilization of Europe. Here was the scene of the last bitter encounter between the two races, the Anglo-Saxon or British, and the Latin, or French. Then came the reckoning between the divisions of the Anglo-Saxon, the English, and Americans. Its inhabitants have listened to the war-whoop of many savage nations, and been subservient to the banner of France, England and the United States.

No other county in the state is so rich in early history as Sandusky. A British post was established here during the Revolutionary War. Here the first permanent white settlers located and the first marriage between whites was performed. Especially during the War of 1812 was it a famous battleground.

In marking, one by one, these historical places, we, as an organization, are not only showing patriotism in one of the truest forms — reverencing the memory and brave deeds of our heroes — but we are reminding the present and future generations of our dearly won liberties, for very truly has some one said: "Every spot in a land that marks the achievement of an heroic deed is to that land a perpetual fountain from which flows influences to strengthen the patriotism of its people."

In imagination we can see Major Ball's dragons gallantly riding down this road. They obeyed the order to charge with bayonets whenever smoke was seen and thus in a hand-to-hand encounter killed seventeen of the eighteen Indians.

Bravery in battle requires the same courage, whether the fighting is on Ball's battlefield with a small squadron, at Fort Stephenson with 160 men defending the fort, or with the thousands at Gettysburg. So today we honor the memory of the men who won the battle which preceded Croghan's victory by two days.

From here we will go on to the Harrison Mess Rock located on Harrison Trail. It is well known in this part of the state on account of its great size and because the general and his staff lunched from its spacious board.

As your state regent, I am delighted to congratulate you on the placing of these markers, for as the Fort Kearney Chapter in Nebraska was the first to erect a tablet on the Old Oregon Trail in that state, so you, members of my own chapter, are the first to place markers on the General Harrison Military Trail in Ohio.

Mrs. John T. Mack, of Sandusky, state chairman of the historical sites committee, was next introduced by the local regent and gave an interesting account of what has been done throughout the state in the marking and commemoration of historic sites. A part of her paper was as follows:

ADDRESS OF MRS. MACK.

The committee on historic sites of the Daughters of the American Revolution of Ohio wish to congratulate the Colonel Croghan Chapter upon the unveiling of two more tablets, thus adding more laurels to the wreath you have won in the marking of historic spots. It was in the year of 1901-02, under the state regency of Mrs. John A. Murphy that the committee on marking Revolutionary soldiers' graves was formed. A

little later, locating and marking historic sites was added to the work of this committee. At that time we were uncertain just how to proceed to locate such graves. The committee realized that absolute accuracy was essential and our early historic sites seemed few. We did not know how rich Ohio is in historic associations. We know now that this beloved commonwealth, dear to us all, is exceedingly rich in her history, not only of the mound builders, her Indian wars, Revolutionary War and the War of 1812, in her portages and trails, but also is she rich in her colonial history brought forcibly to mind by old Fort Sandusky, but recently located, which was built in 1745 on the northern bank of Sandusky Bay and destroyed in 1764, long before Fort Laurens was built in 1778.

It is said that Lord Dunmore's war was the first struggle in the War of the Revolution. Lord Dunmore with his army came from Fort Pitt down the Ohio to the mouth of the Hock-Hocking River, where he built Fort Gower. From thence he came to the Scioto River to an Indian camp called Camp Charlotte, now in Pickaway County near Circleville. It was about this time that the battle of Point Pleasant was fought and the Indians were defeated by General Andrew Lewis. A peace conference followed, the Indians surrendering their claims to the lands south of the Ohio River. It was this event which inspired Chief Logan's famous speech and the elm tree still stands under which he uttered those eloquent words that will be read while American history is written. The conflicts under General George Rogers Clark in 1780-82, against the Shawnees were successful. To commemorate Clark's victory, Simon Kenton, having successfully run the gauntlet there, the Catherine Green Chapter of Xenia on June 14, 1906, unveiled a granite boulder on the site of that old Indian village. One of the first chapters to mark a historic site in Ohio was the Nathaniel Massie Chapter, of Chillicothe, which joined with the women's clubs and placed upon a pilaster of the court house in Chillicothe a bronze tablet commemorative of the fact that upon this site stood the first state house of Ohio, wherein was adopted the original constitution of the commonwealth. This tablet was unveiled on the 100th anniversary of the settlement of Chillicothe. The D. A. R. of Cincinnati with other patriotic societies, erected a monument to mark the location of Fort Washington, one of the earliest historic spots in the Northwest Territory.

Twenty-five miles up the Miami River General St. Clair built a fort which he named after Alexander Hamilton. A powder magazine was erected at the south end of the fort. The building on the fort was presented by the estate of John Milliken to the John Reily Chapter, D. A. R.

The Columbus Chapter has celebrated the marking of a historic spot by placing a boulder in Martin Avenue, on which a bronze tablet tells its own story: "Near this spot, June 21, 1813, was held a council between General William Henry Harrison and the Indian tribes com-

prising the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawnees and Senecas, with Tarhe, the Crane, as spokesman, resulting in the permanent peace with the Indians of Ohio."

The Dolly Todd Madison Chapter of Tiffin, on October 21, 1906, placed a tablet commemorative of Fort Ball which was built by General Harrison in 1812, as a small stockade and was used as a depot for supplies.

In 1899 the Piqua Chapter bought a triangle of ground on which they erected a monument in commemoration of one of the French and Indian wars. On Flag day, 1906, the Piqua Chapter unveiled a tablet of bronze on the house, known as the Colonel Johnston Indian Agency House.

On June 25, 1909, the New Connecticut Chapter of Painesville unveiled two bronze tablets on the new court house there. One to the memory of President James A. Garfield, who was a citizen of Lake County, and one to Samuel Huntington, Governor of Ohio in 1808, whose early home in Painesville Township is still standing.

The Old Northwest Chapter at Ravenna has marked the spot where Captain Samuel Brady immortalized the little lake which bears his name, by erecting a granite marker there.

Last fall at the conference, when it was suggested that the D. A. R. of Ohio, mark historic trails through the state, especially the old Indian trail along the Sandusky and Scioto Rivers from the lake to the Ohio, and that they place a tablet on a monument to be erected at Port Clinton on the north side of the peninsula on the shore of Lake Erie, to commemorate the embarkation of General Harrison and his army for Malden and Detroit, and the battle of the Thames, the Daughters were enthusiastic over the suggestion and the money for such a tablet was pledged then and there. And now, Daughters of the Colonel George Croghan Chapter, you have the satisfaction and the high honor of erecting the first monument and the first tablet on this famous trail. I indeed congratulate you for having accomplished the most work of any of our chapters in this direction.

Following the formal presentation of the tablet to the county by Mrs. Dickinson, the flag veiling the tablet was removed by several children under the direction of Miss Charlotte Dillon, secretary of the local chapter, and Miss Nelle Gast, state secretary of the D. A. R., and the firing of the national salute by the Co. K squad completed the formal unveiling exercises.

Capt. E. C. Sayles, in behalf of the county, accepted the tablet and his remarks were most appropriate. He congratulated especially the D. A. R. in their efforts to perpetuate the

memory of heroic deeds and he urged each citizen to appreciate the value of such a gift and let it be an inspiration to learn more of the history of the county and this locality.

The singing of the Star Spangled Banner concluded the exercises at the site of Ball's battlefield.

The children who participated in the program were: little Misses Gertrude Hafford, Betsy Bell Brown, Jessie and Alice Childs, Mary Elizabeth Truesdall, Jane Phillips and Helen Wrigley, Masters Harold Fangboner, Hiram Moe Datesman, Richard Thatcher, William Haynes and John Walters.

The exercises which followed at the rock known as the Harrison mess table, six miles west of Fremont on the Greensburg pike, were equally as imposing and patriotic.

Miss Lucy Keeler spoke briefly on the history of the stone, and in closing her remarks invited the two guests of the chapter, Mrs. Kellogg, of Toledo, regent of the Ursula Wolcott chapter, and Mrs. John Mack, of Sandusky, to remove the table cloth of red, white and blue, which covered the stone.

Mr. Basil Meek, whose knowledge of local history is so extensive, gave the following interesting paper on the history and traditions connected with the Harrison mess table.

MR. MEEK'S ADDRESS.

The story of the lives and deeds of the soldiers of the war of 1812, in their relation to our Lower Sandusky Valley, is more than a "twice-told tale," for it has been told and retold many times, by the pioneer and historian, but seems not to grow old or stale by repetition as the years go by, and, as is believed, interest in local history increases. It is, therefore, no new story that is brought before us today, but acts to commemorate the old in order that the same may be preserved and handed down to succeeding generations.

Commodore Perry's victory on Lake Erie September 10, 1813, was a notable event in the War of 1812. While the British held control of the waters of the lakes no successful advance of our army into the enemy's territory, in Canada, could be made to attack and destroy the army of Proctor. The Americans must submit to be on the defensive. The gallant and successful defense of Fort Stephenson by the brave Major Croghan and his comrades on August 2, was the preparatory step to Perry's naval battle. It cleared the landway to the lakes and the brilliant achievement of Perry opened the waterway to Canada and made possible its invasion, which soon followed, resulting, as we know,

in the disastrous defeat and flight of Proctor at the Battle of the Thames and death of the warrior Tecumseh, the ruling spirit in the great uprising of the Indian savages against our people in the Northwest. The power of our enemies, both British and Indian, was now broken and permanent peace to our harassed frontier inhabitants assured.

The famous message from Commodore Perry to General Harrison, at Fort Seneca, announcing his victory: "We have met the enemy and they are ours — two ships, two brigs, one schooner and a sloop," was, on its way, read at Lower Sandusky, and Captain McAfee in his history says: "This exhilarating news set Lower Sandusky and Camp Seneca in an uproar of tumultuous joy." He further relates that General Harrison immediately proceeded to Lower Sandusky and issued orders for the movement of troops and transportation of military stores to the margin of the lake preparatory to their embarkation for Canada.

It is, therefore, fitting that the patriotic women of Colonel George Croghan Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, residents of the immediate locality, of events occurring therein or directly associated therewith or near by, should, on this 97th anniversary day and year, of these events, permanently mark some of the spots connected with such events, or with the history of the heroes of the same.

The large boulder before us known as "Harrison Rock," and thus appropriately named, by permission of the Havens family, is in the north and south public road dividing the farms of Hugh Havens and the late W. J. Havens, on the line between sections 14 and 15 in Jackson Township, about seven miles southwesterly from the City of Fremont.

The size of the boulder is nearly 13 feet long, 10 feet average width, and 3½ feet out of ground and about the same beneath the surface, making it about 7 feet thick, which would make it contain about 1000 cubic feet and weigh about 80 tons, as estimated by Prof. Wright, the eminent geologist, who, by request of the Secretary of the Sandusky County Pioneer and Historical Association, visited it two years ago.

There is a generally accepted and well founded tradition, that on one occasion and probably others during his campaigns in the Sandusky and Maumee River Valleys, in the War of 1812, General William Henry Harrison with his military staff partook of a meal on the surface of this boulder as a mess-table. That he must have frequently passed along by the same is very certain, we believe. There was an Indian trail leading from Lower Sandusky, southwesterly, passing through what is now Spiegel Grove, the home of the late President Rutherford B. Hayes, passing thence southwesterly on the west side of the Sandusky River, and at a point about two miles southeast of the boulder, intersecting a similar trail leading from the site of Fort Seneca, on the Sandusky River. The two trails here seem to have united, forming one continuous trail to Fort Meigs, on the Maumee River. This became known as the "Harrison Trail" for the reason that General Harrison,

in his military movements between Lower Sandusky, Fort Seneca and Fort Meigs, traveled this route, as his military road between the points named.

These farms on either side of the rock have been in the Havens family for 55 years; the venerable Hugh Havens says that he well remembers traces of this trail known then as the Harrison Trail, by the strip of timber cut out to form a passageway for military vehicles, and that these traces were plainly to be seen near to the spot where the boulder lies.

In the field notes of the government survey in the year 1820 this trail is noted as a "road to Fort Meigs," in the surveyors' division of section 14 and 15, the notation placing the same at a point bringing the trail or "road to Fort Meigs," near to the spot where the rock lies, and therefore making the same a convenient and certainly a most substantial mess-table for the brave general and staff in the then dreary wilderness, abounding as it did with the savage enemy. We may say that it was to him really something more than the "shadow of a great rock in a weary land;" it was more literally a "table prepared for him in the presence of his enemies."

Our boulder is certainly not native to Sandusky County. It is undoubtedly what we may call an "immigrant" from some other region. There is nowhere in Ohio where any outcrop of bed rock of the formation like our boulder, can be found. Prof. Orton says that no drill has ever penetrated deep enough in Ohio to reach down to such granitic bed rock. Where did it and others of its kind, called hardheads or niggerheads, which lie thickly scattered in portions of the county, come from? Their generally rounded and smoothed surface would indicate that they have been transported from a distance and been rolled (bowled) and polished in their transportation hither. The nearest ledges to this region of outcrops of granitic bed rock are in northern New York and Canada. From one of these regions, most likely Canada, this boulder came, that region being more directly north from us. How and when did it reach this, to it, a foreign land? Geology furnishes the only true answer. Many thousands of years ago, there was a great ice period, during which this entire northern region was covered with glacial ice to a very great depth, having its origin in and moving down from the far north, southward at the very slow rate of but a few feet each day, but with such resistless force as to change the whole surface of the earth over which it passed, filling valleys, piling up ridges, damming up and changing water courses, forming lakes, creating water falls, even that of the stupendous Niagara.

It is reasonable, from geological authority to state that this rock was taken from its native ledge in the north and being clasped in the frozen embrace of this mighty glacial ice stream was transported in its tedious and dreary voyage of hundreds of miles to its present position,

probably requiring more than a century of years to accomplish the journey; and finally when the springtime to this long glacial winter of thousands of years came, the ice melted, the waters ran off and our large boulder was dumped and left a stranger in a strange land, where it now lies, a monumental evidence of the great ice period claimed by geologists to have once existed.

Could this rock audibly speak to us today what a romantic story it could tell! It might speak of its native home in the far north, of the interminable snows there falling, which shoved it therefrom; of its journey to its present and final abiding place; of the vicissitudes attending its passage thither; of the long glacial winter, lasting here, before any summer came; of the final change of seasons and coming of summertime and growth of the great forests; of the abounding wild animal life, of the coming of man, the red man first who in his roaming life probably found at times a resting place on this very rock; of the coming of the white man and what we all see about the spot today, the wilderness subdued, the beautiful farms surrounding it on all sides, and the homes of a happy and prosperous people.

The rock by natural phenomena is a monument to the glacial age, and now it is by the act of today, dedicated a monument to the heroes who availed themselves of its ample surface for refreshment in their toilsome march in the service of their country.

The tablet was then dedicated by the national salute fired by the Company K squad.

# RICHARD PLANTAGANET LLEWELLYN BABER.

## A SKETCH AND SOME OF HIS LETTERS.

DUANE MOWRY.

[A few months since we received from Mr. Duane Mowry of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, duplicates of some letters written by Mr. R. P. L. Baber, formerly of Columbus, Ohio, to Judge James R. Doolittle, at one time United States Senator from Wisconsin. With the view of publishing these letters Mr. Mowry wrote the late E. L. Taylor for information concerning Mr. Baber. Mr. Taylor's reply was also forwarded us by Mr. Mowry. We publish Mr. Taylor's letter and the Baber letters which we understand were never before made public. — EDITOR.]

SKETCH OF MR. BABER — E. L. TAYLOR, SR.

In respect to the late Richard Llewellyn Plantaganet Baber, I would say that I knew him well from 1855-6, and even before, to the time of his death. He was a native of Virginia. It is my recollection that he graduated from, or at least attended Princeton College. He was a man of good education, but had but little tendency to literature during his active life. His father was a minister in the Presbyterian church. He was a lawyer and for several years after he came to Columbus was a partner of Noah H. Swayne, under the name and style of Swayne & Baber. He was a nephew of either Judge Swayne or of Mrs. Swayne, I am not sure which, but think the latter. I cannot give his date of birth or death, but he was born about 1830 and died about 1880, or near that date.[1]

He was a member of the State Constitutional Convention of 1872 from this county and lived some few years after that but just how many I do not remember. Our court records (which I have caused to be searched as to his death) do not

[1] Since above was written, I have the record to show that Mr. Baber was born August 3, 1823, and died July 25, 1885. His remains are interred in Green Lawn Cemetery at Columbus, Ohio. — D. MOWRY.

show any record, although it has long been customary to make a record and memorandum of members of the bar on their decease. I suppose it was overlooked in this case as he had long years been inactive in the practice, and the younger members of the bar did not know or appreciate him, so in some way it was overlooked.

During the continuance of Swayne & Baber no firm in Ohio was better known. Judge Swayne was a very able and accomplished lawyer, and had the leading practice at this bar for many years, and up to the time he was appointed Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the U. S. by Lincoln, which was about 1862-3. That appointment ended the firm of Swayne & Baber, and about that time Mr. Baber was appointed paymaster in the army and thereafter never practiced much at the bar. He was a .good worker under Judge Swayne, but had no faculty of getting business on his own account, so the ending of that partnership was practically the end of Mr. Baber's active practice.

Mr. Baber never held but two offices. First, paymaster in the army, appointed by Lincoln; second, he was elected a member of the Constitutional Convention of Ohio in 1872 as a Democrat, and was a useful, hard-working member. Many of his old Republican friends supported him, as he was qualified for that place, and although he had years before gone over to the Democratic party they felt kindly toward him, and were glad to support him for any office for which he was fitted. His Republican friends never in the least resented his deflection from the party. They would have been glad at any time to have given him a good appointment, but his limitations were such as to make this impossible as you will see further on. In fact his Republican friends did all they could long after he left the party to have him nominated for Attorney General of the State on the Democratic ticket, which was an office he could have filled with credit, and in that behalf the late John Little, then Attorney General, (Republican), gave Mr. Baber all the *special* employments in his power so as to further his chances for the nomination in his party, but he failed of the nomination. He would have been defeated with his party if he had been nominated as the state went Republican.

Mr. Baber was *intense*: *most intense* in everything. If he had a case in Court he could neither think nor talk of anything else, and to the other attorneys was on that account next to a nuisance. In politics he was still worse so that his friends used to avoid him as far as possible and shut him off in his talk all they could. But there was no diverting him from the subject. In a campaign he made many speeches, wrote articles and incessantly worked for his party, and at all times went about with his pockets and hands full of paper, speeches, clippings and documents of every kind. No man knew the argument of his party better than Mr. Baber.

From the time he came to Columbus, which was early in the fifties, he was an intense Republican. I heard him make speeches in the Fremont campaign in 1856, in which campaign he was very enthusiastic and earnest; and in the Lincoln campaign of 1860 he was almost beside himself. In enthusiasm, activity and effectiveness he was beyond example or comparison —and it may well be doubted if any other man of his time did nearly so much, and so unreservedly, as Mr. Baber, to make Lincoln the nominee of his party. He became greatly interested in the debates of Lincoln and Douglas, and in 1859 went in person to Illinois to see Mr. Lincoln to induce him to have the debates collected and published in book form for general circulation with a view of furthering his nomination. He succeeded in that behalf, and further succeeded in arranging to have Mr. Lincoln come to Columbus and make a speech, which he did in September, 1859. I heard that speech, which was I believe the first he ever made outside of his own state. This led to an invitation to speak at Cincinnati the next night and at Indianapolis the following night. In conversation I asked him if he was to make any further speeches, and he said that he was not: that he would "have to go home and go to work or the bread barrel would give out."

Mr. Baber also made arrangement for the publication of the debates, and it was a matter of form only that the late George M. Parsons, then Chairman of the Republican Committee of Ohio sent a written request to Mr. Lincoln for his consent to the publication to which he returned a favorable

reply. But this was only a formal matter, the arrangement having been already made by Mr. Baber. William Dean Howells, the novelist, then a writer on the Ohio State Journal, was selected to edit the volume, and it was published here by Follet Foster, and 16,000 copies immediately printed and distributed for the purpose of influencing the delegates at the National Convention. A great many more were issued after that, and the country flooded with them. In all this Mr. Baber (with financial assistance of the late Samuel Galloway, and perhaps Judge Swayne, and a few others) was the main spring and active moving power and force.

Mr. Baber was a delegate to the State Republican convention that year (1860) and was very active in creating a Lincoln sentiment in the convention. He was also a delegate to the National convention at Chicago, and perhaps more than any other, influenced the Ohio delegation for Mr. Lincoln, who received the nomination.

Mr. Baber's services were acknowledged by the party by making him a member of the Electoral College to head the Lincoln ticket in 1860, and when the members of the college met after the election to cast the vote of the State he was selected to carry the vote to Washington, which honor he greatly appreciated.

That Mr. Baber expected further and more substantial recognition when Mr. Lincoln should come into office was but natural, and Mr. Lincoln, as well as the party leaders was anxious to have him rewarded. But there was the *rub*. What possible place was there in which this erratic man would fit? The whole field was canvassed to find a place for him, but the unfortunate fact was that he was in every way unfitted to fill any high position or one at all commensurate with his services. He was the strangest and most erratic man that could be imagined. He was a combination of strength of mind and purpose, with everything that was unconventional and ridiculous. He was strictly honest, earnest, truthful, temperate, amiable to the last degree and without guile or deceit, open-hearted and out-spoken in everything. But with all these virtues and good qualities he united so much rudeness of manner—such a want

of all that is proper decorum; such neglect of his dress and of his person as to make him impossible in polite society. He was also entirely wanting in discretion and judgment. He was not subject to the most ordinary rules of genteel life and conduct. He was also entirely devoid of method in the conduct of business and affairs and could not be relied upon to do anything on his own account. This of course all unfitted him for high or responsible positions in the public service. If he had simply possessed his good qualities without his defects he could have had almost anything he wanted, and have been a positive influence and power in Lincoln's administration. But something had to be done for him. The army was open for all the young men in the country, but he was unfitted for *active* service, not only by temperament, but also by physical infirmities from which he suffered all his life, and which greatly tended to his comparatively early death. But as before said, something had to be done, and so it was finally arranged that he should be made a paymaster in the army with the rank and pay of Major, to which he reluctantly consented. Personally he had no qualifications for that office. Although honest to the last extent he was not fitted to have charge of large amounts of money or the disbursement of it. However, his friends furnished a bond for him but with the understanding that he should have a thoroughly competent clerk, who would conduct his business, and such a man was secured for him, and his accounts were kept straight, strictly correct, and finally settled to a dollar. Incidentally, I may say, that the young man appreciated the good qualities of Mr. Baber and formed a strong attachment for him, and when some years after the war he died of a lingering disease, he made him executor of his will, and gave him $1,000, out of his small estate of about $8,000, which I am sorry to say he needed, and was a God-send to him.

An incident which happened will well illustrate Mr. Baber's general character and conduct. Some time not long after he had entered on his duties as Paymaster he was at Cairo, Ill., waiting further orders, and having nothing active to do, he thought of a friend, Joe Sullivant, Jr., an old Columbus boy, then living on a large estate in central Illinois, and so with-

out notice to even his clerk, posted off to make him a visit, which lasted for some weeks, and when it finally occurred to him to return, he found he had been dismissed from the service for "absence without leave". But his friends here at once took the matter up and Mr. Lincoln promptly ordered him re-instated.

Your mention of Mr. Baber's letters to Senator Doolittle calls to mind that he read one or more of them to me before sending them, and all that movement comes back to me in a somewhat vague way. I was not myself in sympathy with it, but Mr. Baber was full of it and seemed to want me to know his views and sentiments at the time. In this connection I would say that one evening while Governor Dennison was Post Master General, I was alone with him in his library in Washington, when Senator Doolittle came in and they had a conference or talk in my presence, in which the Senator very freely expressed his dissatisfaction of the then existing situation.

Amiable, honest, eccentric, energetic, poor Llewellyn Baber, once one of the best known men in this community, and I may say of the State, passed away in comparative poverty and obscurity, and except for a few of the older residents is now forgotten; and yet if he had not lived it is extremely doubtful, if indeed not certain, that Abraham Lincoln would ever have been President of the United States.

## LETTERS OF MR. BABER.

The letters of R. P. L. Baber to the Honorable James R. Doolittle, at the time of their writing, a United States senator from Wisconsin, were found among the private papers and correspondence of Judge Doolittle. They have never been published. Without knowing who Mr. Baber was, the intelligence made manifest in the letters attracted the attention of the contributor at once. And upon inquiry it was learned that the author of the letters did, at one time, figure prominently, in the public affairs of Ohio. Further investigation brought a most interesting sketch of Mr. Baber by one of his contemporaries and fellow townsmen, E. L. Taylor, Esquire, of Columbus, Ohio.

It is not my purpose to discuss the measures brought forth in this correspondence, but to submit the letters as bearing upon an important period of our country's political life, and, in his opinion, as valuable to the historical student. It would seem, too, that Mr. Taylor's sketch does needed justice to the memory of a really interesting and worthy personality.

*Milwaukee, Wis., Oct.* 1, 1909.

COLUMBUS, O., February 28th, 1866.

HON. JAMES R. DOOLITTLE.

My Dear Sir: — I have been intending to write you as to the present political situation, for some time, but I have delayed for developments, so as to inform you more certainly. When I arrived here on the 1st of January, the Legislature was so engrossed, in the election of U. S. Senator, that nothing could be done, as to the indorsing of the President's policy. We had a large positive party for it, which, as early as January 5th introduced resolutions, for that purpose, but the milk and water class who are always waiting for something to turn up, under the cry, that the Radicals did not intend to attack the President, succeeded in tying up the resolutions in the hands of a caucus committee, until the breach made by the veto message has placed matters in a situation that requires great tact to engineer. We have however the party machinery in our hands, every member of the State Executive Committee, the Governor and all the state officers, but the Radicals predominate in the lower house. However the defeat of Schenck and with him the Cincinnati Gazette clique has given us a substantial victory. The rank and file of the party will stand by the veto, but the President's severe language in his speech of the 22d inst. particularly as it was addressed to Democrats chiefly, is being used against us. The speech however of Senator Sherman, and Governor Cox's letter, are working well, and I think it will come out right. I attended the Indiana State Convention and found the whole game of the Radicals was to misrepresent the issue, and deny that negro suffrage was the issue, which was at the *bottom* of their whole opposition of the President's plan. Why do not our friends in Congress compel them to tear off this mask and come plainly on the record? Why not introduce a resolution and force a yea and nay vote upon it, "that Congress has no power or desire to force negro suffrage as a condition of representation upon the seceded states?" I did not find six delegates in Indiana who were not opposed to such an issue. The trouble is that they cover up their true object under the plea of excluding rebels, and it is notorious that the radical leaders were willing to trade universal amnesty for universal suffrage and obtained the release of Ragan (?) and Foote upon their writing letters in favor of negro suffrage. If our friends will press them upon

measures, wherein can they show President Johnson unfaithful to the platform of the Union party. I wish especially you would press to a vote and make a speech on your Bill to facilitate treason trials, and show up to the public why Chase, Sumner and Thad Stevens oppose a civil trial and want a military commission to escape an exposure of their secession dogmas about the fugitive slave law. You recollect I sent you a Cincinnati Commercial of Nov. 20th containing an article showing the facts about the Oberling cases, and Lincoln's letter of July 28th, 1859, condemning the whole set which set in motion the ball that nominated him at Chicago. President Johnson has a copy of the paper. Can't you get the article published in the Intelligencer or the N. Y. Times? Forney wouldn't print it when I was in Washington. Hon. Columbus Delano and Hon. Lewis D. Campbell can post you thoroughly in this matter. Strike boldly and show whose fault it is why Davis is not tried for treason, and that the radicals by refusing legislation on the subject are embarrassing the President. Second let the President's friends make prominent the fact that the radicals as soon as they found the President in favor of the voting basis amendment started the Stevens dodge of counting out population so as to ring in directly the negro suffrage issue, for on the voting basis New England loses four members, while Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and Michigan gain 12. The Fessenden amendment distributes the gain from the South to the Eastern instead of the Western States and here is the milk in the Cocoa nut. I sent you a carefully prepared table on the basis of the vote and population of 1860, showing just how the game works and wonder why one has not been published before. The West should stand up for the voting amendment. Talk to Senator Sherman and show him this table.

Lastly. Protect all the civil rights of the freedmen by proper laws and insist on each case of senator and representative being settled on its own merits. We must win ultimately on the programme. But why does not the President remove Stanton at once and appoint Gen'l Logan, who would carry the volunteer army and make Randall Secretary in place of Harlan and Roselius of New Orleans in place of Speed. Let us have a strong unit Cabinet that will make a clean sweep. Otherwise we shall be flanked. Julian will be beaten in Indiana and all of the *same* stripe will fare the same from the people. I shall be glad to hear from you. Yours truly,

R. P. L. Baber.

Perhaps it will be best to publish the table I sent you.

Columbus, O., Mar. 29, 1866.

Hon. James R. Doolittle.

My Dear Sir:—I send you Cincinnati Commercial of the 24th and 26th inst. containing articles signed "Ohio" which I desire you to read, as they contain facts which conclusively show that Johnson stands

with Lincoln. I offered the Resolutions in the Republican State Central Committee, on which the Union organization was formed in Ohio. I sent a communication by this mail to President Johnson urging him, as a member of our Union State Central Committee to put the patronage in each Congressional District in hands that will wield it so as to count. Schenck as chairman of the organization to re-elect Radical Congressmen is flooding the country with documents for negro suffrage and universal amnesty. We are ready for fight in Ohio but want our enemy deprived of the patronage. Again to put us in a fighting attitude pass some law to protect Freedmen under the Constitutional Amendment abolishing slavery. Press your bill for the trial of treason cases and try Davis in Tennessee as soon as practicable, force the New England radicals to vote down the voting basis of representation and the admission of the Tennessee members, pure and simple and we've got them. Our State Committee will probably call a convention in August. I wish you would write me as it is necessary that there be some co-operation among the Johnson men in all the states. The Stockton case was a great outrage and the President must veto the Colorado bill, to kill the game to obtain ⅔ majority. Yours truly,

R. P. L. Baber.

Columbus, Ohio, 11th January, 1867.

Hon. James R. Doolittle.

My Dear Sir: — The friends of the Administration and the restoration of the Union have been quietly watching the signs of the times to see if any movement can be made to save the Ship of State from going on the breakers. The late decision of the Supreme Court foreshadowing the fate of Radical legislation in that tribunal in its mad effort to ignore all constitutional restraint and prevent the return of the Government to its ordinary action in time of peace, encourages the hope that steps will be immediately taken to bring up directly for decision the question, whether the late seceded states, must be treated as states in the Union under the state governments inaugurated and acquiesced in by the people at the President's suggestion. The Radical leaders fearing the result are hastening to set up counter state governments, by means of the Negro vote, intending to recognize these as the valid state governments, thinking to bind the Courts by the action of the political department of the Government, as in the Borden case. Our friends must manage to prevent the success of this scheme. It strikes me on reflection, that a division can be produced by the Southern Legislatures requesting Congress under the 5th Article as to amendments to call a National Convention to propose amendments to the Constitution of the United States, indicating at the same time by resolution, what amendments they would be willing to ratify. This would be meeting fairly the *proposition* of Ben Wade's Memphis speech, declaring a willingness now to hear what terms the South had to propose,

as the amendments did not suit them. This makes an opening to make a division against New England tariff rule, which is grinding down the agricultural states with taxes. Ohio would stand by any amendment that would unite this interest, provided, representation in Congress is placed exclusively on voters, and the Negro, women, children and aliens were put on the same footing, by counting all of them out in the representation. Senator Sherman offered this proposition in the Union Senatorial Caucus, and it has the advantage over the amendment in its present shape, in not *recognizing* the Negro, as a class out of whom voters ought to be made, which by putting direct taxes on property, it avoids the monstrous injustice of taxing according to population, without allowing representation by the same rule. The present amendment was merely shaped as a bridge to get over the elections, knowing that it would be rejected, for it is obvious that representation should either be based upon population exclusively, or upon *political power,* namely voters. Pressure is being brought to have the Alabama Legislature adopt the amendment in its present shape, and I think there is the place to start this counter movement. It would defeat the present New England swindling amendment, which preserves the present inequality between that section and the West. I send you a copy of a speech I made during the campaign, which shows, that under the Census of 1860, Indiana, with 280,000 votes will elect only one more Congressman than Massachusetts with 170,000, and in the future this inequality will increase. I have accordingly taken the proposed amendment and modified it, so as to leave out some of the most objectionable features. I would prefer that the 3d section *was out* altogether, but *practically* the test oath affects the *same* thing as to Federal offices, and the South, in consideration of not being interfered with as to qualification of their *own state* officers, had better yield the point, and enable the President and his friends to throw on the selfishness of the New England states, the rejection of any amendment as to representation which cuts down her *political powers.* I would write Governor Parsons on the subject, if I knew where he was. I hope you will look over carefully the drafts of the amendments, and make any changes that would give the movement success. It is useless to battle longer a revolutionary party on a mere defensive position. Throw out at the South a counter proposition which will separate the West from New England, for on the questions of tariff and taxation, the votes of all Agricultural communities, will ultimately concentrate, when the passions of our people, inflamed by demagogues, have cooled. I am convinced unless something is done, the country will yet have to meet the shock of a civil war, running through all of the states. I send you a copy of my speech on the proposed impeachment, made at the 8th of January supper. It was vociferously applauded. But I am satisfied that all Democrats care for, is to preserve their organization, yet it will back any movement the Administration will make through the Southern Legislatures. Please talk with President

Johnson on this subject and with Southern men, and write me. General Swayne is in command in Alabama, and though he is a Radical, being a free trade man, would go for the Johnson voting basis amendment. Prompt action must be taken, and some one ought to go to Alabama to manage. Tom Miller our Democratic Assessor has turned out the Johnson men and put in Radicals in their places to secure his confirmation. Post the President.

Yours my dear Sir,

Very truly,

R. P. L. BABER,

*Member of National Union Committee from Ohio.*

PLAN OF SETTLEMENT.

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States has proposed to the Legislatures of the several states sundry amendments to the Constitution of the United States, and,

WHEREAS, It is proper that the voice of the people of all the states should be heard in order that the Union may be restored in feeling and indeed, as well as in name, and

WHEREAS, The state of Alabama has already performed in good faith, all that was claimed at the end of the war as necessary to accomplish that object, and

WHEREAS, The Constitution of the United States provides that on the request of the legislatures of two-thirds of the states, Congress may call a National Convention to propose amendments to said Constitution, which shall be valid on the ratification of three-fourths of the states in the Union,

*Resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Alabama,* First, That the Congress of the United States be requested to call a National Convention to propose amendments to the Constitution of the United States to become valid on a ratification by Conventions of three-fourths of the states.

*Resolved,* Second, that the people of Alabama, as a pledge of the good faith in which this request is made for the purpose of restoring peace and concord to our common country, are willing to ratify, when proposed, the following amendments, as a final settlement of the controversies which have grown out of the civil war:

1st. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges, or immunities of citizens of the United

States, nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of its laws.

2d. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this Union according to the number of male citizens of the United States, not less than 21 years of age, possessing the qualifications of electors for the most numerous branch of the State Legislature, in pursuance of the Constitution and laws of each state. Direct taxes shall be apportioned according to the value of property, real and personal in each state, to be ascertained by laws, but no new state shall be admitted into the Union, until it contains at least, citizen voters sufficient for one representative under the existing apportionment.

3d. No person shall be a senatorial representative in Congress, or elector of President, or Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, who having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid and comfort to the enemies thereof. But the President may on a vote of three-fifths of each house of Congress, remove such disability by a special pardon.

4th. The validity of the public debt of the United States authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be denied, but neither the United States, nor any state shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for loss, or emancipation of any slave, but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held void.

5th. Congress shall have power to enforce, by laws necessary and proper the provisions of these amendments.

P. S. The subject of amendments must be gotten out of the hands of Congress and before the people, or with the two-thirds in that body there will soon be a consolidated despotism. Won't the defeat of Thad Stevens and Forney in Pennsylvania tend to break their rule in Washington?

# LA SALLE'S ROUTE DOWN THE OHIO.

E. L. TAYLOR.

[In the July Quarterly, 1905, page 356, Volume XIV, publications Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, appeared an article by the late E. L. Taylor, Sr., on "Water Highways and Carrying Places." Some time after the publication of that article Mr. Taylor had correspondence with a critic concerning the identity of the much disputed route of La Salle down the Ohio in his western journey of 1669, the alleged date of his discovery of the Ohio River. This has ever been a most interesting question among historians and Mr. Taylor's letter to his critic, which letter is herewith published, is a valuable contribution to the controversy. This letter from Mr. Taylor came to our notice some time ago and it was at our request that Mr. Taylor secured us a copy and gave permission for its publication, which was delayed until the present time. — EDITOR.]

Insofar as the first expedition of La Salle (1669) is concerned, I do not think the Genesee is in any way involved. In the map of old Cadwallader Colden there is no *portage* noted between the waters of the Genesee and those of the Allegheny. He was the most familiar of any man of his time (about 1720-1740) with the topography of the entire country of the Iroquois. He was the Surveyor General of that entire territory under the English government, and was the best informed man in the country in regard to the topography and geography, not only of the State of New York but of the regions as far west as the Mississippi and as far north as the lake country. He spent his entire life in contact with the Indians. He was a learned, industrious and able man and devoted his entire time to official duties, always in connection with Indian affairs. In the map which he left, he noted all the carrying places of which he had knowledge from the Hudson River as far west as Lake Michigan. He makes no note of any portage between the waters of the Genesee and the waters of the Allegheny. He notes a portage between the Hudson River and Lake George; also between the waters of the Mohawk River and Oneida Lake, the overflow

waters of which lake go north into Lake Ontario at the present city of Oswego; also the carrying places around Niagara Falls; also between the waters of the Ottawa River and Lake Nipissing; also between Chautauqua Lake and the waters of the Allegheny River, which flows into the Ohio River; also between the waters of the Maumee and the Wabash; also the carrying place between the head waters of the "St. Joseph of Lake Erie" and the head waters of the Kankakee; also between the Kankakee at a point much further west between the Kankakee and the "St. Joseph of Lake Michigan," which was near the present city of North Bend, Indiana. But no portage is noted between the waters of the Genesee and the waters of the Allegheny, as before stated. That the aborigines passed from one of these waters to the other by many different trails, there is no doubt, but they were trails rather than portages. The topography of that country would indicate that it would be a long distance from one of these waters to the other at places where they had volume of water sufficient to float a canoe. Colden was much in that region, and if there had been a well known portage suitable for La Salle's purpose, he would have known it and have noted it. No man in his time had as thorough and accurate knowledge of Indian routes of travel or of the geography and topography of that region as himself.

In so far as the Genesee being connected with La Salle's expedition, it may be dismissed from consideration, not only on the grounds above stated, but for the insurmountable difficulties, to which I will hereafter refer.

I had occasion some years ago to consider what route La Salle did take at that time. Much of the confusion, and I might say, all of the confusion that has arisen concerning the route which he took has been caused by a narrative published by a Frenchman whose name is unknown, entitled "Historie de La Salle," which was evidently prepared and published after the death of La Salle. That portion of the narrative which relates to the route which La Salle took after parting with the Sulpitian priests upon the upper waters of Grand River, which took place at a point a short distance west from where the city of Hamilton, Canada, now stands, was copied by Pierre Margry

in the first volume of his "Discoveries" and has been given as a foot note in Parkman's "La Salle," pages 22 and 23, of the edition which I now have, (Little, Brown & Co, 1901). This passage needs but slight examination to show that it was written in entire ignorance of the geography of the country and long after the "conversations," and it is worse than worthless as a historical statement. But, bad as it is, it has been made still worse by the use which has been made of it by subsequent writers. It has had the effect of greatly confusing both readers and writers, and has even lead Parkman into confusion, and his confusion has extended to the reading world.

There is no obscurity and never has been about the route taken from La Chine to the west end of Lake Ontario; that the joint expedition of La Salle and the priests and the Seneca Indians was up the St. Lawrence and along the south shore of Lake Ontario to a point between the Genesee and the Niagara, probably not far from the mouth of the Genesee. A stop was made opposite a Seneca village, which was a day's journey from the shores of Lake Ontario. As this was an important Seneca village it is necessarily west of the Genesee and east of the Niagara, for these were the limits of the Seneca country. The expedition rested here while La Salle and Father Gallinee went inland to the village with a view of procuring guides to the valley of the Ohio. They were detained at the village for nearly a month with the usual Indian diplomacy of delay, and at last they not only failed of their purpose but found themselves in considerable danger of personal violence. It would seem that they were glad to escape from the Seneca country. La Salle, however, procured an Indian of the Neutral nation, who promised to guide him to his country, which was west of the Niagara River and Lake Ontario. They proceeded west past the mouth of the Niagara to the extreme upper end of Lake Ontario and to a village of the Neutral tribe some few miles inland from where the city of Hamilton, Canada, now stands. Here they met Joliet and his companion returning from the northern lakes. The information which Joliet imparted to them caused the separation of the Sulpitians from La Salle. The history of the expedition thus far is all settled history; also the

further expeditions of the priests until they returned to the St. Lawrence is equally well settled.

But as to La Salle, here the confusion begins. This anonymous writer states that he went to Onondaga, and Parkman leaves him there with the simple suggestion that he might have been "More fortunate in procuring guides" at that place than he had been at the Seneca village. The position in which he is here left was an impossible one from which to reach the waters of the Ohio by any waterway or succession of waterways. The village of Onondaga was the most important one in the entire Iroquois nation. Champlain's expedition against that important stronghold in 1615 had made the name of that village known throughout France, and there can be no uncertainty as to its general location, although the exact location has not been, and probably cannot be now certainly established. The consensus of opinion is that it was somewhere not far distant from the location of the present city of Syracuse. If this unfortunate passage of this anonymous Frenchman was correct, then La Salle would necessarily have to re-trace his way along the entire south shore of Lake Ontario on the route over which he had just gone. The distance would have been at least two hundred and fifty or more miles. He could not have started on his return before the first of October, because the separation with the priests occurred September 30th. The stormy season on the lakes would soon begin, and this long journey would be next to impossible at that season of the year with the light birch canoes with which La Salle was equipped, besides the village of Onondaga was three or four, or more, days journey inland. Their canoes could not be used. But having arrived at Onondaga there was no possible passage by water in the direction of the waters of the Allegheny. All the waters between these two points flow either north into Lake Ontario or south into the Susquehanna or Delaware. No rivers or streams of any kind suitable for canoe navigation run east and west between these two points, and the entire distance is over the highlands of New York which divide the waters of the north from the waters of the south. The position of Onondaga was simply impossible at any season of the year for the portage

of canoes, and necessarily unfit for an expedition. At that season of the year the highlands of New York are all deeply covered with snow, and the journey they could not have made except on snow shoes. A further difficulty would have been that they would have had to pass entirely through the countries both of the Cayugas and the Senecas, and it would have been impossible to pass through either of these nations without discovery. It is impossible to suppose that La Salle would undertake to pass in any way through the country of the Senecas who had so lately refused to allow him to pass, and from which he was glad to escape with his life. Further, it is impossible to suppose that La Salle, ardently seeking to reach the country of the Ohio, would travel three hundred miles directly away from it. Further, it is still more impossible to suppose that the "Shawnee guide," which he had procured at the Neutral village to pilot him to the Ohio, would take him three or four hundred miles directly opposite the course which he desired to travel and from the country which he desired to reach. For these and other reasons, when I came to examine this question, I dismissed the whole matter as being entirely erroneous and worse than worthless as a historical statement.

My own view and solution of it is that when the priests parted with La Salle and descended the Grand River to Lake Erie and turned west, La Salle followed on the same route as soon as he had reason to believe that the river was clear of the priests, who intended to turn west along the north shore of Lake Erie, and that he coasted around the east end of Lake Erie past the head of Niagara River and on until he reached a point opposite Chautauqua Lake. There was no other route which he could have taken from the point where he was to reach the waters of the Allegheny at that season of the year. It was the shortest and most direct route to the country which he wished to explore. The correct and literal translation of this French narrative is as follows:

"La Salle continued his way (from the point where he started with the priests) *by a river* which went from east to west and past Ononatague then to six or seven leagues beyond Lake Erie." As before seen, there was no river running from

east to west from Onondaga, and if there had been, the distance from there to "beyond Lake Erie" instead of being six or seven leagues would have been more than one hundred leagues. The "six or seven" leagues would nearly enough describe the distance between Lake Erie and Lake Chautauqua, but still more nearly the distance from the outlet of Lake Chautauqua, to the Allegheny.

Another controlling fact in my mind is that La Salle received a gift or present before parting with the priests of a *Shawnee* who was held captive by the Onondagas at that point; which, it seems, La Salle was greatly gratified to receive, and well he might be as no better guide could have been found anywhere than a Shawnee whose home was in the Ohio country, and of which he necessarily had knowledge and would be the best guide which could possibly have been procured. It is absurd to suppose that a Shawnee Indian acting as a guide to the Ohio country would go directly away from the country which he had wished to reach. This Shawnee liberated from captivity and presented to La Salle for a guide would surely be glad to act as such and to pilot La Salle in the direction which he wished to go.

It may be further assured without a shadow of doubt, that he knew the best route and that he took the best route. The Indians always knew the best route in any country over which they roamed, and the Chautauqua route was certainly the best from the point where his office as guide began to the Ohio country. To my mind it is not only entirely probable, but certain, that La Salle in the "conversations" gave the anonymous writer some other name than Onondaga and that the narrator's memory was at fault as to the name or location mentioned by La Salle, and this forgetfulness has lead to the confusion. The narrator says (literal translation) that La Salle "continued his way by a river which went from east to west." A recent writer has undertaken to make this passage read "up a river," and to apply it to the Maumee, which is entirely without warrant or authority. La Salle was on the upper waters of the Grand River a short distance west from the head of Lake Ontario when the priests parted from him and proceeded

to Lake Erie by way of that river. I do not deem it of the slightest importance that the narrator may have said that the river by which he proceeded ran east and west or from north to south, or in any other direction, for there is nothing more easily forgotten or to be mistaken about than statements verbally made in respect to directions and distances, but the fact is that at the point where La Salle was on Grand River the course is from east to west for a considerable distance before turning to the south in its course to Lake Erie. If we reject Onondaga as being a mistake in the recollection of the narrator and accept the language "continued his way by a river" (that is by way of a river), and that the six or seven leagues beyond Lake Erie described a country between Lake Chautauqua and the Allegheny, we have not only a rational, natural, but, as I think, the correct route over which La Salle passed in the autumn of 1669.

In Volume 12, of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical publications, Mr. Charles E. Slocum has a paper on "La Salle." In this paper he quotes the passage contained in Margry correctly enough but then he proceeds to give it what he terms a "very liberal" translation, and then states that "this is necessary to make it intelligible." He then gives his "very liberal translation" found on page 108 of the above named volume. I think this translation is entirely misleading and an actual perversion of the original text, and, I think, the worst attempt at translation that I have ever seen. For instance, where the original text reads thus, "continued his way *by a river* which went from east to west and passed to Ononatague," the translator has converted that into "continued his way with Onondaga (aborigine, as guide) *up a river* (the Maumee river) sixty leagues beyond Lake Erie." Thus the plain words of the text "by a river and past to Onondaga six or seven leagues beyond Lake Erie," he converted into "continued on his way with the Onondaga" (whom he gratuitously assumes to be the Shawnee guide), "and up the river" which he also assumes to be the Maumee river "sixty leagues beyond Lake Erie," when the plain text is that it was six or seven leagues. This is an entire perversion of anything that may

legitimately be claimed from the text whether the text be faulty or not. It is interesting to observe that he converts the word "Onondaga" into *the name of the Shawnee guide,* and thus gets rid of the embarrassment which the word caused in the original text. The idea of applying the word "Onondaga" to a Shawnee guide is certainly original, and certainly without support even by suggestion in-so-far as I have ever seen or heard. The idea is entirely original with Mr. Slocum and seems to have been made arbitrarily and wholly without foundation or support. "Onondaga" is an Iroquois name and the Shawnees were at enmity to the Iroquois as far back as we have any traditions. But this is not the worst. The original text of the anonymous writer is "passed to Onondaga." That is the correct rendering of the original text, but Mr. Slocum has given it this rendering, "continued his way with Onondaga, the Shawnee guide." We need nothing but want of accurate information in the original writer to explain the text. He was probably doing the best he could to narrate what La Salle said to him in the "conversation," and to my mind it is easily explained, as before suggested, that the writer did not correctly remember the name indicated by La Salle. At that time the Niagara River was known among the inhabitants as "Ohnghiara" and this might easily be converted into "Onondaga" or any other name or place by want of understanding on the part of the narrator.

But this is not the greatest violence which Mr. Slocum has done in the translation of the original text. He has voluntarily ventured to substitute names and places which are not indicated in the original text. He substitutes the Maumee as the river "up which La Salle passed," forgetting that it would seem that at that time and for a considerable time afterward, the Ohio was called "Quabache," which was long subsequently applied only to the river Wabash. Another spelling of the name of the Ohio, as has been left us by the original explorers, was "Aaboukingon" so that the original text, even if correctly translated, would not mean the present Wabash, but would mean the Ohio, and the effort of Mr. Slocum to transfer the route of La Salle to the Maumee and the Wabash in reaching the Ohio

river must necessarily fail, — notwithstanding the arbitrary manner in which Mr. Slocum has seen fit to declare it.

Another infirmity which appears right on the face of the text is in regard to the statement that La Salle's people deserted him, "twenty-three or four in number" — while the fact is that La Salle had four canoes on this expedition and seven men, making, with La Salle and the priest, twenty-four men. Now, the text says that his men *all* deserted him "twenty-three or four in number," while it is entirely certain that the two priests and seven men parted with La Salle on the head waters of La Grand river, leaving him with but fifteen men, leaving this as the number which could have possibly have deserted. It is probable that a few of his men did desert him at that point, and there is some authority for that, but that there was any general desertion cannot be true, otherwise his expedition would have ended at that place. Mr. Slocum has added to this romance of desertion by adding to the twenty-three or four men, "including the Shawnee guide." There is no suggestion anywhere that we are aware of to sustain this statement outside of Mr. Slocum's assertion. Mr. Slocum further leaves the point at which the desertion took place "all in one night, somewhere beyond the Maumee in the wilds of northern Indiana." He further says that some of the men deserted to the Hollanders and others to New England. From the point where he necessarily leaves the desertion it was at least eight hundred miles to the Hollanders on the Hudson, and twelve hundred or more miles to the New England settlement. The whole story of the desertion en masse, as given in the original text, and very much enlarged upon by Mr. Slocum, is necessarily an error, and the whole story of wholesale desertion must be taken with every allowance as to correctness. The whole life and character of La Salle is a most positive contradiction that any such desertion could have taken place at any time in his whole strenuous career. He was by nature and habit a leader of men and one whom inferior men instinctively obeyed. I think the whole confusion arises from the fact that ten years later, when he first reached the Illinois country and established the Fort Recuvier, on the Illinois River, from which he returned to Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence, leaving his lieu-

tenant, Tonti, in command, there was a desertion from that fort, but in La Salle's absence. The whole matter has been jumbled up together in a very singular manner, as would naturally be the case in a man trying to remember conversations which occurred many years before, and about locations and places of which he had no knowledge.

To have reached the Maumee, as Mr. Slocum insists, La Salle would have to pass by: first, the Lake Chautauqua route; second, the Cuyahoga and Muskingum route; the Sandusky and Scioto River routes, all before reaching the Maumee. It cannot be supposed that he could have passed all these ways to the country which he wished to reach and have gone on to the Maumee and Wabash route to reach the Ohio River. Either of the three routes first mentioned were as easy and more direct to the country which he desired to visit than the Maumee and Wabash route, which would have carried him to the very southwest corner of the State of Indiana and far beyond what was known to him to be the Ohio country. The interpolation of the Maumee and Wabash, and of "Little River," which was a branch of the Wabash, are all not only gratuitous and entirely voluntary, but also misleading.

My own conclusion is, after giving the matter the most careful consideration that I could, that La Salle, after parting with the priests on Grand River, followed the course of that stream to Lake Erie that passed the head of Niagara (Ohnghiara) thence along the south side of Lake Erie to Chautauqua Lake, thence to the waters of the Allegheny and the Ohio. This was surely the best and by far the most direct route to the country of the Ohio, or its headwaters, and precisely where he desired to go.

If you will examine Mr. Slocum's paper in Volume 12, above cited, you will see that he attempts to support his theory by a further letter without date. An analysis of that letter will show that it furnishes no support whatever to Mr. Slocum's theory. All that letter means is that the Maumee and the Wabash furnished a way to the Ohio; a matter which was never in dispute. But as for confirming the theory that La Salle sought to reach the Ohio by this route, the letter, quoted by Dr. Slocum on page 111, furnishes no support whatever to

the theory that La Salle sought the Ohio or passed to that river over the Maumee and Wabash rivers. An examination of this last letter shows the facility with which Slocum could twist things to suit his own theory. The letter which he quotes shows that the river which he was following—if it shows anything—"and five or six others quite as large and flowing with great rapidity along the declivity of a mountain, (higher ground) and discharges into the Illinois (Ohio)." It is diverting to see with what easy facility Mr. Slocum reduces the "declivity of a mountain" to "higher ground" and transposed the "lake," which was undoubtedly Chautauqua in New York State, into a swamp in northern Indiana. It was this article of Mr. Slocum's which lead me two or three years ago to examine into the route which La Salle actually took.

Mr. Slocum also mentions a "swamp" somewhere west or north of Fort Wayne, which he says at that time discharged quite a column of water. Now, the fact is that the carrying place from the Maumee to Little River is a dry and excellent carrying place, and there are no mountains in Northern Indiana, and never has been, while the country between the outlet of Lake Chautauqua and the Allegheny was suitable for the description of the country which is described in the original text. It was a rough and even mountainous country and the waters and streams flowed with great rapidity which accords fully with the description given in the text. You will see by looking at the end of my article in Volume 14, page 394, publications of this Society, there is a description of that carrying place, written by General Hamilton, of the English army, which entirely negatives the impression which Mr. Slocum's article gives.

There are many other reasons why La Salle did not attempt to reach the Ohio by that route, and many more reasons which I could give why he should adopt the Chautauqua and Allegheny route to the Ohio.

## HARMAR'S CAMPAIGN.

[Through the courtesy of Mr. Frazer E. Wilson of Greenville, Ohio, the author of several articles on Wayne's campaign and the Greenville Treaty, we herewith publish, from a duplicate of the original MS., a letter written by one Thomas Irvin, who participated in Harmar's advance and retreat. The document has a double interest, the first hand information which it imparts and the crude but direct style of expression, typical of the scholarship of the pioneers. — EDITOR.]

Dear Sir The army on Harmars Campaign Left
for Washington about the Last of September 1790
for the Indian towns followed the trace made By
Genrl Clark from Kentucky in October 1782 which
passed reading halted there one Day until the Regular
troops Came up formed the Line of March there one
Line on Each Side of Said trace to Be about 40 yards
on Each Sides from it a Strong front and Rear gard
the Baggage in the Center Encamped at Night in the
Same way passed where Sharron is and where Lebanon
in the County of Warren Stands went Some Distance
west of Waynesvill and Xenia Crossed Mad river
about 10 miles from Dayton Struke the Great Miamia
at the old Piqua Town that Sd Genrl Clark had
went against and Destroyed Crossed the River
( )t Distance above had a pritty ( )
–an trace from there to the old french Store on
what is Since Called StMarys had a good India
–an trace from there to the Maumee Town as
it was then Called the 2d Morning after we Left
StMarys 8 or 10 mounted men went out in Search
of Some horses that had Been Lost over Night
Started a Smart young Indian with a Bow and
arrow They took him prisioner Brought him to
Camp there was 2 of the troops Could Speak the Indian
tounge very well he and they Spoke freely together

he Stated the Indians at first intended to make
a Stand at the Towns give that up and inten
-ded to move their families and Burn their
Towns 600 men were Drafted from the Different Comp
-anies put under the Command of Col Hardin of
Kentucky he Being the 2d in Command
to procced as Quick as Possible to the Towns which
they Did and when they got there found what the
prisoner Stated true the Town stood on the
East Side of the St Joseph River on the Bank of it
There was 2 Indians under the Bank when the army
got there was Discovered trying to Escape I Expect Both
Killed one of them was found in the Brush that Day the adva
-nce was in the Towns 2 or 3 Days Before the Rear got up
after the Rear arrived and Rested one Day a Detachm
ent of 400 men was ordered out with a view to
ascertain which way the Indians had gone to
Draw 2 Days provisions and Be out over Night there was
25 mounted men attached to the Same all placed under the Com
-mand
of Col Trotter of Kentucky Crossed the river opposite
to where the Town Stood went a west Course a Short Dis
-tance after we Crossed the Mounted men Started 2 Indians
Killed Both and Lost one man marched all Day
( ) Saw Considerable Sign But ( )
Scattered we marched in Excellent order Being a
volunteer in Sd Detachment and allong with the front
gard the 1st Day Could See the movements the Six pounder
was Discharged at head quarters about Sun Set the Col
Concluded it was Done to Call in Sd Detachment
we marched into Camp a while after Night
Turned out Next Morning to perform the 2d Days Service
Started Early in the Morning under the Command of
Col Hardin Crossed the River at the Same place
went a North Course got on to an Indian trail
Shortly after we Crossed followed it after going
about 4 miles There was 2 or 3 Indian Dogs Came out
of the woods among the troops and run off again The Col

ordered a Halt and ordered the Captns of Companies
to take post on the right and Left of Sd trace and
Keep a Sharp Look out our Company went to the
Left was ordered by the Col to go Round a Bushy Nole
or Small hill out of Sight of Sd trace and
Keep a Sharp Look out there and there remain
untill we could get orders to March he Sent Major
Fountain with 5 or 6 mounted men in advance on Sd trace
when they returned informed the Col that they had Seen a
great Deal of fresh sign on Sd trace and that they
appeared to be retreating as fast as Possible The Col
was keen to pursue and in the hurry forgot to give orders
to our Company They had marched over one mile
Before the found out the mistake our Company had
marched in front the 1st Day and in the rear the 2d
after waiting a Considerable time we moved to the
trace found they had been gone Some time pursued after
went with Major Fountain he stated that he had
Been in advance found the Indians was retreating as
fast as Possible he thought could Be Soon overtaken
Stated the Col had Entirely forgot to give orders to
our Company When he Started we had gone over half
a mile with the Major meet 2 Mounted men on the
Retreat Each had a wounded man Behind him appe
-ared to Be very Bloody they Called out for Gods Sake retr
-eat you will Be all Killed there is Indians enough
to Eat you all up we then Could hear the firing and
yelling went over a Small River there meat the poor
fellows retreating and the Indians after firing and
yelling we formed a Line across the Trace and took
trees intending to give them a fire if they Came up
Col Hardin Col Hall and Major Fountain and one
or 2 more on horse Back halted with us The
Indians Came within 80 or 90 yards and halted
I Expect they Seen the Men on horse Back Stop
Then we Stopped the pursuit and Covered the
retreat tarried there untill Dark or untill all the
retreating party passed by us as none of them halted

with us But the Sd officers it was after Night Before we arrived in Camp Col Hall informed me that they Detach was Completely Defeated he was near the front when the Indians fired on them The trace Led through a Small or narrow prairie heavy timber on Both Sides on the Right of it the timber and (woods) was within 20 Step of Sd trace The Indians had Kindled a fire at the far End of Sd Prairie and Left some trinkets at it which Caused a halt when the front arrived at it the Indians that moment give them a deadly fire from the right The men Sallied toward the Left and ( received) another from there out of the woods on that Side The men Being in Single file retreated as far as they Could I never Could Learn how many was Killed in that Scrape There was a Number Killed and wounded if there had Been flankers out as Should have Been the Indians Could not have got so great an advantage over them There was no Detachment Sent out next Day to ascertain how many was Killed or to Bury the Dead We remained in Camp 2 or 3 Days after There was 2 or 3 Indians Killed while we remained in Camp after Sd Detachment was Defeated I was well acquainted with Col Hall Rode Behind him that night of Sd retreat across the river and was in his Camp next Morning

Fairmount Miami Co
Ohio

# COLONEL JOHN MURRAY.

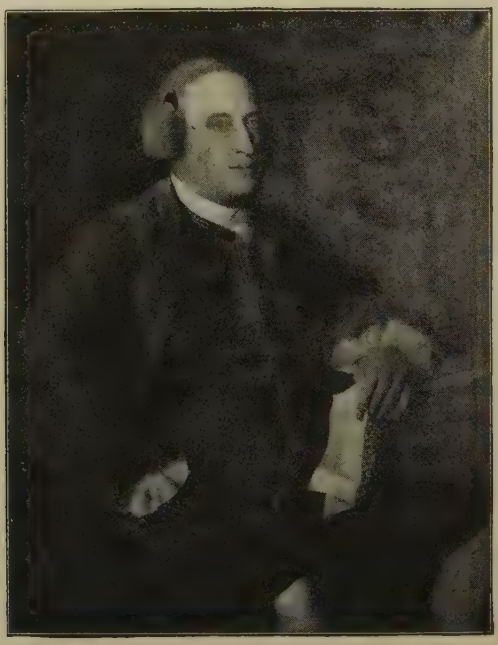
DAVID E. PHILLIPS.

The readers of the Archaeological and Historical Quarterly can hardly fail to be interested in any matter intimately associated with the very beginnings of our "Great Commonwealth." The famous old mansion in Rutland, Mass., now owned by "The Rufus Putnam Memorial Association" and called "The Cradle of Ohio" has become one of the "Shrines of American Patriotism", and few have had so romantic an origin and history. It was built about the year 1760 and for many years thereafter was in the possession of Colonel John Murray, a violent Tory and a public official under George III.

The story of Colonel Murray's life presents a series of picturesque episodes of absorbing interest. His origin and parentage have been shrouded in mystery very little save tradition and "circumstantial evidence" having been offered concerning his early history, however those best qualified to judge feel very sure, and believe him to have been a scion of the noble "House of Atholl" whose surname was Murray, and whose family seat was at "Blair Castle" in the north of Scotland.[1] A tradition at this old homestead still survives, to the

[1] From a study of the records of this family, the presumption becomes very strong that Colonel John Murray was a grandson of John Murray the second Earl and first Marquis of Atholl, whose wife Jean, was the youngest daughter of Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurchy. This John Murray, who died in 1640, had an eldest son John (1631-1703) who was the heir to "Blair Atholl" estate, and was for many years actively engaged in the wars of that period. That there were other sons, and one of these no doubt was the father of John Murray the emigrant. An evidence that he was of this family is found in the names of his elder sons, Alexander, John and Robert, the two latter died in early youth, and these names were given other sons born at a later date, all these names were common in the Murray family for many generations whose records we are considering.

effect that many, many years ago a young member of the family disappeared, of whom no tidings ever returned, and it was believed he had "run away to America." Corroborative evidence is found in the fact that his family plate bore the arms of the Duke of Atholl, and again it appears that his name is the first on the petition in 1762 to the "General Court" at Boston for the charter for the town of Atholl[2] not far from Rutland in the



Col. John Murray.
(*From the painting of Copley.*)

same county. Col. Murray being a member of the General Court from Rutland, having been its representative for some twenty

[2](Atholl) Reference to a comprehensive "Gazettier" of the world, shows that the town of Atholl here mentioned is the only place in America so named (with the single exception of a small town in Northern New York). The only other locality so named is the district in the north of Scotland embracing about 450 square miles, elevated,

years. Upon the evidence of his tombstone inscription in the "Rural Cemetery" at St. Johns, New Brunswick, "he was born in Ireland, November 22d, 1720."

The exact time of his appearance in Rutland is not known, but it was no doubt about 1740, for it was at that time he was married to his first wife,[3] who was of the same ship's company upon his voyage hither. His natural ability and instinct for leadership is indicated by the fact that within the next few years he had filled nearly all the responsible offices in the gift of his had acquired large landed estates, not only in Rutland but in the towns of Oakham Barre and Atholl and was accounted one of the wealthiest men in the county. He built fine homes for himself and his children. The quaint old farmer historian of the town thus describes him, "a large portly man, and when dressed in his regimentals made a superb appearance," "he had servants, black and white, and his high company from Worcester and Boston; his entertainments and parade added greatly to the popularity and to the splendor of the town". Upon the death townsmen, and before he was thirty-five years old was selected to represent them in the "General Court" at Boston. In the meantime he had developed remarkable business abilities and of the wife of his youth, (the mother of his children, she who suffered the hardships of the voyage to these shores, and of the pioneer life in the New England wilderness) in 1760, he married Miss Lucretia Chandler of the intensely artistocratic family of Judge John Chandler, (the third Judge of that name). At this time he had his own as well as his wife's portrait painted by the celebrated Copley, both of which are still extant, the latter in Boston and the former in St. Johns, New Brunswick.

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and very picturesque, Blair-Atholl, a fertile vale on the Garry and the forest of Atholl containing some 100,000 acres are stocked with red deer and game. It gives the title of Duke to the head of the Murray family its chief proprietor, whose seat is at "Blair Castle" near Mts. Benygloe and Gairn Gower.

[3] Reed's history of Rutland (1836) tells us that "John Murray after his arrival in America did not forget the girl, Elizabeth McClanathan with whome he made the voyage, but made her his wife, and to them were born ten children." Her brother John McClanathan was a captain under Colonel Murray in the "Old French War".

By Gov. William Shirley he was commissioned a Colonel of a Worcester Co. regiment in the "old French war," but is believed not to have been in active service, preferring to entrust that chiefly to his subordinate officers.

By blood and association he was naturally affiliated with the aristocratic, or Tory party, and as the period of the "Revolution" approached, these sympathies became more and more apparent, most of his family (sons and sons-in-law) indulged similar sentiments, although one or two espoused the cause

THE RUFUS PUTNAM HOME RUTLAND, MASS.

of the colonies, and served in the patriot army.[4] His youngest son Samuel, a physician's apprentice in Boston, is said to have acted as guide for the British troops through the marches of Cambridge on the night of April 18th, 1775. We know that he fell into the hands of the Provincials as a prisoner of war on the following eventful day, and shortly thereafter was ordered

[4] Alexander Murray son of Col. Murray served three years in the war of the Revolution, and received a bounty from the Gov't beside being granted one of his father's confiscated farms.

sent to his father's farm in Rutland, with the positive injunction not to pass its limits without permission. When the final rupture came, the "Mandamus Councelors" and other officers of the Crown were asked to resign. Many did so through fear of losing their estates and the favor of their fellow citizens, while many fled at once to England or the Provinces.[5] Colonel Murray had been a special mark for the Provincial's disfavor, having long enjoyed their confidence by serving them in almost every capacity in their gift for thirty years. He was about to accept a high office from the Crown, had sworn allegiance to the King and to support the laws of the Realm, when on August 22d some fifteen hundred men from Worcester and other towns repaired to the Murray home in Rutland prepared to enforce demands. He had evidently taken the alarm, for although every nook and cranny of the premises was searched, he could not be found. Before they took their departure one indignant visitor declared he would show Colonel Murray who had been there, and thereupon thrust his bayonet through the canvas of the Colonel's portrait which hung upon the wall. The wound shows to this day, and can be seen in the reproduction of the portrait accompanying this article. Colonel Murray returned two or three days later and removed his family and their more valuable belongings to Boston, reaching that town in safety, and soon afterwards removing permanently to St. Johns, New Brunswick, where he again engaged in business, acquiring considerable fortune before his death in 1794.

Colonel Murray left a numerous family from whom has descended a notable posterity (through his daughters), bearing the names of Botsford, Hazen, Bliss, Wilmot, Weldon and others,

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[5] Mr. Burton W. Potter in his valuable paper upon Col. Murray says "that the Revolutionary war was in a sense a civil war, with members of many families arrayed against each other. At the beginning the whigs and tories were pretty evenly divided, but the tories were soon overawed and silenced and while several thousands embarked for Nova Scotia and New Brunswick and colonized those provinces, they comprised but a small minority of those who preferred silence and aquiesence, to proscription and banishment."

who have been among the most distinguished men of New Brunswick, attaining high positions in professional and civil life. Hon. J. Douglas Hazen of St. Johns, a member of the executive council of the Province, is the present owner of the famous Copley portrait, and to him we are indebted for the fine large photograph from which our illustration has been made.

During the later period of the war, and after the surrender of Burgoyne's army, a large detachment of which was sent to Rutland where extensive barracks had been erected for their

Dr. Cutler's Church and Parsonage at Ipswich Hamlet, 1787. The place from which the First Company Started for the Ohio, December 3, 1787.

accommodation, as if by an irony of fate the timber used in the construction of these barracks was cut from Colonel Murray's lands and his mansion house was used for the British officers of higher rank. When the property of the Tories was seized by the new government, this house, destined to become more than a hundred years later, a "patriotic shrine" for future generations, was purchased at the government sale by Rufus Putnam and was occupied by him and his family until their departure for the "Ohio Country". Upon that memorable winter

night (January 9th, 1786), within these sacred walls was born the "idea and plan" which shortly afterwards took definite form as "The Ohio Company".

In April, 1888, Hon. George F. Hoar, United States Senator from Massachusetts, delivered the principal address upon the occasion of the centennial celebration of the first landing of the company at Marietta, at that time he conceived the plan of preserving for future generations the "Old Putnam House" in Rutland! Senator Hoar lived to witness this plan fully realized, and many thousands of interested visitors annually come to do honor to the venerable structure now so lovingly preserved and cherished by the "Rufus Putnam Memorial Association".

# THE OHIO DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

CLEMENT L. MARTZOLFF, B. PED.
[By permission of *The Ohio Teacher.*]

The school histories have always said much about the Mecklenburg Resolutions being the prelude to the Declaration of Independence. Indeed some histories make so much of it that you doubt if Thomas Jefferson would ever have mustered up courage sufficient to pen the immortal lines beginning, "When in the course of human events," etc., had he not had this brave precedent before him.

Now, a few years ago our esteemed friend and colleague, Mr. W. H. Hunter, of Chillicothe, who has since passed over the silent river, wrote in that fascinating, vigorous and facile manner of his that the Mecklenburg Resolutions were not the prelude to the Declaration of Independence at all. They were a prelude all right, but when you talk about the prelude, that distinction belongs to the Scotch-Irish members of the Hanover Presbyterian Church in Dauphin county, Pennsylvania. In point of time the Pennsylvania prelude has the prestige. For it was on January 4, 1774, that these Scotch-Irish Presbyterians declared in congregational meeting, that, "in the event of Great Britain's attempting to enforce unjust laws upon us by the strength of arms, our cause we leave to heaven and our rifles." These Scotch-Irish were noted for their skill with the rifle. It is said that the long German rifle in the hands of the Scotch-Irish conquered the western wilderness. While these were no doubt zealous Presbyterians who believed in the fiats of heaven, yet from the tone of their declaration they seem to express the sentiment of the general who told his men to pray, "but keep their powder dry!"

SITE OF FORT GOWER.

The date of the Mecklenburg Declaration falls on May 20, 1775, nearly a year after the Hanover Declaration and fourteen

months before the Liberty Bell "proclaimed liberty throughout the land." That a convention of the inhabitants of Mecklenburg county, North Carolina, met at this time and promulgated a "Declaration" has been vigorously maintained and as stoutly denied. Those who discount it say that it was not discovered that they had such a meeting until 1818 and if it took that long to find out they had a meeting it certainly did not have much moral influence in sustaining Thomas Jefferson a year later in Philadelphia.

It is not the purpose here to discuss the merits of either side of this controversy. It is assumed that sometime about May 20, 1775, the representatives of the towns of Mecklenburg county, North Carolina, did meet in Charlotte and proclaim that "as the King and Parliament had annulled and vacated all civil and military commissions, granted by the crown, etc., the provincial congresses directed by the Continental Congress are invested with all legislative and executive power independent of the Crown, and Parliament should resign its arbitrary pretensions."

The time is now about ripe for the ubiquitous Ohio man with that insuperable ability of his for claiming the world and all that is therein, to bob up serenely and demand recognition for a "prelude" on Ohio soil.

The date of Ohio's "declaration" of independence falls midway of the two preceding, November 5, 1774. The place and the occasion briefly told are these:

With its source amid the fertile fields of Fairfield county, the river Hock-hocking, which in Indian language means bottle-necked, meanders, a modest brook, through the flats and graveled terraces of its upper valley. Then suddenly, as if by an insane desire to reach the sea, it plunges into the hills through whose shale and sand beds it has chiseled its way for seventy miles. Now curving its way by the fretted pine-lined rock-walls, now rippling across its shallows and plunging adown its cataracts, now narrowing to squeeze itself between the hills; then again broadening and sleeping as it lazily wanders among its meadows, passing prosperous farms and thriving villages; the steeple shadows of three court houses falling upon its bosom, the cattle bath-

ing their bodies in its depths, the Waltons from town and farm basking on its banks and awaiting results, the mill-wheel creaking on its axle as the flood sweeps by, and coal-mines, the Aladdin's Caves where dross is transmuted into gold, opening their ebony portals upon its shores — this is the panorama you see from the beginning until it mingles its waters with the amber tide of "La Belle Riviere."

It is at the mouth of this picturesque little river that we pause for a "Little lingering at a spot historic in Buckeyedom." There is a sleepy little village here and to many of its inhabitants it was news to be informed that within its precincts an American army once camped under the generalship of a real live English lord.

Nature has conspired to make this an attractive spot and the chronicles of early travelers, passing up and down the Ohio, never fail to make mention of it. George Washington, in his celebrated journey down the Ohio in 1770, in his journal, under date of October 27, says:

"Incamped at the mouth of the great Hock-hocking, distant from our last incampment about 32 miles." On his return he reached the same camping grounds on November 7. The weather, he adds, was a little "gloomy in the morning but clear, still and pleasant afterwards." "The Indians," he continues, "say canoes can go up it (the river) 40 or 50 miles."

Four years later almost to the day, this site was the scene of some military activity that marks the spot an historic one.

The story of the murder of Logan's family has often been narrated and need not be retold here. It is known that this action precipitated an Indian war upon the frontier settlements of Pennsylvania and Virginia. The Shawanese with their homes upon the Scioto were the leaders in this uprising. At last, Lord Dunmore, the royal governor of Virginia, resolved to carry the war into the Indian country. Two armies of Virginia militiamen, one under the command of General Andrew Lewis and the other under Governor Dunmore himself, marched for the Indian country. General Lewis reached the Ohio river at Point Pleasant and Lord Dunmore, floating down the Ohio, landed at the mouth of the Hocking. That this was the objective point of

the army is gained from a letter of Colonel Crawford to George Washington, dated September 20, 1774:

"I am this day to set out with the first division for the mouth of the Hock-hocking and there to erect a post on your bottom where the whole of the troops are to rendezvous."

Washington's Bottom was on the Virginia side of the river and when the two divisions of Crawford and Dunmore reached the place they crossed to the Ohio side, commenced cutting the forest trees and erected a fortified camp of considerable extent. There was also built a strong block-house in which to deposit the surplus stores of provisions and ammunition during the absence of the troops in their march to the Scioto. This fort, the fifth one to be erected in Ohio, was named Fort Gower in honor of Earl Gower.

While this was transpiring on the Hock-hocking, the Indians, under the leadership of Cornstalk, left their Scioto homes and suddenly fell upon the division of the army encamped at Point Pleasant. Here on Sunday, October 10, 1774, after a desperate battle, the Indians were defeated and eagerly turned back to their own villages. Lord Dunmore after leaving a small detachment to guard the fort, started for the Pickaway Plains. Ascending the Hocking, passing the sites of the present cities of Athens and Nelsonville, he at last came to the falls of the river where Logan now stands. There he struck across the country. Before reaching the Indian town he was met by ambassadors from the Indians, suing for peace. General Lewis was approaching from the direction of Point Pleasant by way of Jackson. The Indians well knew as they had failed to overcome the army divided, it was useless to attempt a battle when the enemy was united. A great council was held, a treaty was made, the Indians agreed to bury the tomahawk and the purpose of the expedition was fulfilled. It will be remembered that Logan, the primal cause of the war, refused to attend the council and when sought out gave his reasons in that famous speech of his that has been recited by schoolboys these many years.

No doubt there were white men disappointed with the treaty also. There were men in both divisions of the army who had little faith in Indian promises and who believed that there were

no good Indians but dead ones. (Cooper's Indians had not yet been created.) At any rate the Virginia army retraced its steps and on November 5th found itself again at Fort Gower. Here the soldiers learned for the first time of the action taken by the first Continental Congress which had assembled at Philadelphia, September 5, 1774. Whereupon a meeting of the officers was called, with the following results:

At a meeting of the officers under the command of his excellency, the Right Honorable the Earl of Dunmore, convened at Fort Gower, November 5, 1774, for the purpose of considering the grievances of British America, an officer present addressed the meeting in the following words:

"GENTLEMEN: Having now concluded the campaign, by the assistance of Providence, with honor and advantage to the colony and ourselves, it only remains that we should give our country the strongest assurance that we are ready, at all times, to the utmost of our power, to maintain and defend her just right and privileges. We have lived about three months in the woods without any intelligence from Boston, or from the delegates at Philadelphia. It is possible, from the groundless reports of designing men, that our countrymen may be jealous of the use such a body would make of arms in their hands at this critical juncture. That we are a respectable body is certain, when it is considered that we can live weeks without bread or salt; that we can sleep in the open air without any covering but that of the canopy of Heaven; and that pure men can march and shoot with any in the known world. Blessed with these talents let us solemnly engage to one another, and our country in particular, that we will use them to no purpose but for the honor and advantage of America in general and of Virginia in particular. It behooves us, then, for the satisfaction of our country, that we should give them our real sentiments, by way of resolves, at this very alarming crisis."

Whereupon the meeting made choice of a committee to draw up and prepare resolves for their consideration, who immediately withdrew, and after some time spent therein, reported that they had agreed to and prepared the following "resolves," which were read, maturely considered, and agreed to, *nemine contradicente*, by the meeting, and ordered to be published in the Virginia Gazette:

"*Resolved*, That we will bear the most faithful allegiance to His Majesty, King George the Third, whilst His Majesty delights to reign

over a brave and free people; that we will, at the expense of life, and everything dear and valuable, exert ourselves in support of his crown, and the dignity of the British Empire. But as the love of liberty and attachment to the real interests and just rights of America outweigh every other consideration, we resolve that we will exert every power within us for the defense of American liberty, and for the support of her just rights and privileges; not in any precipitate, riotous or tumultuous manner, but when regularly called forth by the unanimous voice of our countrymen.

"*Resolved,* That we entertain the greatest respect for His Excellency, the Right Honorable Lord Dunmore, who commanded the expedition against the Shawnese; and who, we are confident, underwent the great fatigue of this singular campaign from no other motive than the true interest of this country.

"Signed by order and in behalf of the whole corps.

"BENJAMIN ASHBY, *Clerk.*"

[Taken from American Archives, 4th series, Vol. 1, p. 962.]

SITE OF FORT GOWER.

There has been much discussion as to the motives that prompted these soldiers to make this proclamation. Some argue that they had been disappointed with the expedition; that Dunmore had acted with duplicity; that the whole Indian trouble from the Logan murder at Yellowcreek to the final act on the Pickaway Plains was a part of a general scheme to keep the people's minds away from the idea of independence, and that the men seeing they had been duped, proclaimed under the very nose of the royal governor their allegiance to American liberty.

As a matter of fact it doesn't make any difference whether they had been fooled or not. Dunmore may have been guilty of double dealing or he may not. It does not alter the situation one whit, anyway you consider it. There is this to be remembered only, that the Hanover Declaration, the Ohio Declaration and the Mecklenburg Declaration were the straws showing which way the wind was blowing. They were all indicative of the rapidly growing spirit of liberty and independence in the colonists and this spirit would manifest itself even in the presence of a member of the British aristocracy who at the same time was the King's representative.

"Twenty years after this period when the settler of the Ohio Company took possession of their lands at the mouth of

Mouth of the Hockhocking.

the Big Hock-hocking the outlines of Dunmore's camping ground was easily distinguished. A tract containing several acres had the appearance of an old clearing grown up with stout saplings. In plowing the fields for several years afterwards, mementoes of the former occupants were often found, consisting of hatchets, gun barrels, knives, swords and bullets, brought to light in the upturned furrow. In one place several hundred leaden bullets were discovered lying in a heap as if they had been buried in a keg or box. A tolerably perfect sword is now to be seen in the museum of the Ohio University at Athens, which was found on the west side of the river near the roots of a fallen tree." (*Hildreth's Pioneer History.*)

# OHIO UNIVERSITY—THE HISTORIC COLLEGE OF THE OLD NORTHWEST.

CLEMENT L. MARTZOLFF.

Situated on the winding Hock-Hocking amid the picturesque hills of Southern Ohio is the little city which, according to Theodore Roosevelt, "with queer poverty of imagination and fatuous absence of humor has been given the name of Athens."

OHIO UNIVERSITY, 1875.

Probably the strenuous ex-president would have considered it more appropriate to have named it "Hog-Hollow" or "Buzzards' Glory" or some such euphonious title instead. In justification of its name it must be remembered that the settlers sent out by the Ohio Company of Associates had a greater per cent. of Harvard and Yale graduates than any similar body of pioneers in America. So when these men christened Marietta, Athens, Campus Martius, Rome, Troy, and Carthage it was not because of paucity of imagination but rather out of

their abundance of knowledge. The humor of the situation may never have struck them, for they were Englishmen. But the desire to build well was theirs. So they laid the foundation deep and broad. The settlement began under the "reign of law" and with it was the establishment by law of the church, the school, and the college. The fathers of Ohio may have lacked imagination and they may not have been able to see a joke but neither were they renegades, squatters, bush-whackers, nor scalp hunters. This alone ought to neutralize their "fatuous" s h o r t - comings and we can forgive them their classical enthusiasm in calling the rude building erected in the woods of Ohio a university and the pioneer hamlet surrounding it Athens.

Manasseh Cutler.

"The town and the college were twins. The site of the former was selected with a view of the latter and a name was chosen that should be a prognostic of the place of culture for the Northwest such as old Athens had been for the ancient world."

The Ohio University had its inception along with the Ordinance of 1787. This makes it the oldest collegiate institution northwest of the Ohio river and as Dr. Manasseh Cutler was the moving spirit in the settlement of this first west and the establishment of organic law there, so too can we look to him as the "Father of Ohio University". By his constructive statesmanship and his consummate diplomacy, he succeeded in getting a dying congress to do in two weeks what it had failed to accomplish in three years — the establishment of a government for the Northwest Territory. He was instrumental in having placed in the famous ordinance the now oft-quoted

"religion, morality, and knowledge" doctrine. Two weeks later he had completed his negotiations for the purchase of land for the Ohio Company of Associates. He insisted that there should be a donation of land within the purchase for the endowment of a university. The amount demanded was two townships. Congress hesitated, whereupon Dr. Cutler at once went to his room and began to pack his belongings, preparatory for departure. The negotiations were all off as far as he was concerned. Massachusetts would sell him land, up in what is now Maine. This brought the committee to time. The bargain was struck. Congress ordered the Board of Treasury to enter into a contract.

"Not more than two complete townships to be given perpetually for the purposes of an university, to be laid off by the purchaser or purchasers, as near the center as may be (so that the same shall be of good land) to be applied to the intended object by the Legislature of the state (July 23, 1787)."

The Ohio University for which the above recommendations were made thus becomes the recipient of the first endowment of land for higher education by the National Government. It is true that this idea of Congressional endowments did not originate with Dr. Cutler.

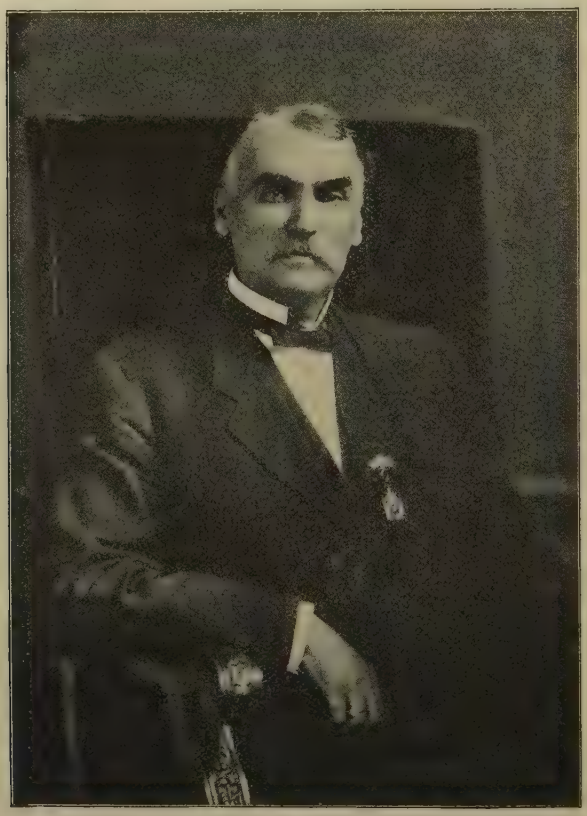
In June, 1783, Colonel Bland, a Delegate in Congress from Virginia, in a resolution touching Western Lands, had proposed to utilize the income of certain of the lands for "founding seminaries of learning." In the same year Timothy Pickering had given utterance to a similar idea.

As no immediate results came from these proposals they are only interesting and important in showing the trend of opinion of the times. The credit of working out the details and the honor of securing the "college grant" belong without doubt to Dr. Cutler.

A further concession was demanded in the letter of the Ohio Company to the Board of Treasury, under date of July 26, 1787. The land was taken in parcels and to be paid for in installments. In the event that some parts might not be taken up there might be some question as to the location of

the college lands and even if they should be entitled to them or not; whereupon the Company of Associates requested:

"The lands assigned for the establishment of an university to be as nearly as possible in the center of the first million and a half of acres we shall *pay for;* for to fix it in the center



President Alston Ellis.

of the proposed purchase might too long defer the establishment."

This request was accepted for it was a feature in the contract between the Ohio Company of Associates and the Board of Treasury entered into October 27, 1787.

"And also reserving out of the said tract so to be granted, two complete townships to be given perpetually for the purposes of an university, to be laid off by the said parties of the second part, their heirs or assigns, as near the center as may be, so the same shall be of good land to be applied to the intended object in such manner as the Legislature of the state wherein the said township shall fall, or may be situated, shall or may think proper to direct." Patents for the lands contracted for were duly issued and work of settlement was begun.

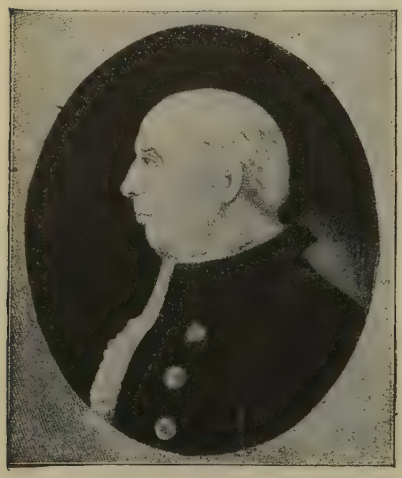
The settlement of the Northwest Territory affords a unique example in state building, when New England pioneers 750 miles away from where they were going to make their homes, in a wild and unbroken country, declare that the establishment of a higher institution of learning shall be co-eval with the establishment of civil law.

That the university was the essential feature of the new commonwealth and was used as a means of influencing prospective settlers in the selection of their homes is seen in a French pamphlet, published in Paris, 1782. It was used by the Scioto Company to induce emigrants to come to Ohio. The pamphlet from which the following is a translation was brought to America by one of the Gallipolis pioneers.

"The measures which have been taken by the act of Congress, providing for the disposition of the lands west of the Ohio as far down as the Scioto for the establishment and maintenance of schools, and of a University shed an especial lustre on these settlements and inspire the hope that by the particular attention which has been given to education, the fields of science will be extended, and that the means of acquiring useful knowledge will be placed on a more respectful footing in this country than in any other part of the world. Without speaking of the advantages of discovering in this new country species hitherto unknown in natural history, botany, and medical science, it cannot be questioned that in no other part of the habitable globe can there be found a spot where, in order to begin well, there will not be found much evil to extirpate, bad customs to combat, and ancient systems to reform. Here there is no rubbish to clear away before laying foundations. The first commencement of this settlement will be undertaker by persons inspired with the noblest sentiments, versed in the most necessary branches of knowledge, acquainted with the world and with affairs, as well as with every branch of science. If they shall be so fortunate as to have at first the means of founding on an advantageous

plan these schools and this University, and of sustaining them in such a manner that the professors may be able to commence without delay the different labors to which they may be called, they will, in the infancy of the colony, have secured to themselves advantages which will be found nowhere else."

That was a great day, December 3, 1787, when there gathered in the streets of Ipswich, Mass., the colonists bound for the Ohio. The leader of this band of pioneers was Rufus Putnam, who is well-styled the "Father of Ohio." Four and a half months later the "Second Mayflower" grated its keel on the pebbly shore of the Muskingum and General Rufus Putnam alighted on the virgin Ohio soil with a commission from the National Government to establish "an university in this wilderness."

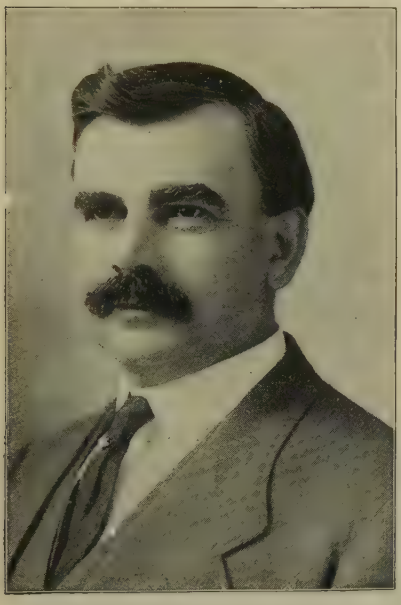


Rufus Putnam.

Dr. Cutler never became a resident of the colony, but from his Massachusetts home he continued to take an interest in and direct its operation as is shown by the correspondence between him and General Putnam. He visited the settlement in the summer of 1788. We find in his diary of the date, September 3d, of that year, how he and General Putnam had crossed the Muskingum to Fort Harmar and in company with Dr. Scott, they climbed "the high hill north-west of the Fort and west of the city. Fine prospect. Some excellent land; fine rock for building; and it is proposed that the university should be on this hill."

There is now an interregnum of several years in which no definite steps are being taken for the establishment of the university. The Western country was in the midst of a desperate Indian war. The Indian edict had gone forth that "no

white man shall plant corn in the Ohio country." A year after the Marietta settlement, Governor St. Clair had invited the Indians to a council at Fort Harmar. But the Miamis and Shawanese stayed away and the Confederated tribes did not sanction the treaty. Brant, the great chief of the Six Nations, was laboring to unite the western tribes into a Confederacy and the English were supplying them with ammunition and aiding them with their counsel. This was the situation confronting the Marietians in less than two years from their settlement. Marauding parties of the savages were everywhere. The travel down the Ohio became perilous by reason of the attacks on the emigrants. In the autumn of 1790, General Harmar with 1400 men met with a disastrous defeat. The news struck terror to the hearts of the Mariettians and how it was increased may well be imagined when hard on this came across the frozen snow from Big Bottom, the escaped, from the terrible massacre at their very doors. The colony was put into a state of defense and while no depredations again occurred within the Ohio Company's Purchase there were constant signs of alarm. St. Clair had met a terrible defeat and not until General Wayne had crushed the Indian power and consummated it at the Greenville Treaty did the colonists breathe easier.



PROF. H. G. WILLIAMS,
*Dean Normal College.*

"The five years of bloodshed and military campaigns had a decided tendency to check the growth and development of the

Northwest Territory. The able bodied men were taken from the clearing and the fields. * * * The women and children, with the men who remained at home, were paying more attention to the block-houses and stockades than to the cornfields. Governor St. Clair had promulgated an order that 'the practice of assembling for public worship without arms may be attended with the most serious and melancholy consequences.'" The period of the Indian wars was one of fear and anxiety to the settlers and we do not wonder that they did not think of their proposed university. But the clouds of war had hardly passed before they emerged from their forts and took up the work where it had left off. A reconnoitering committee was appointed to locate the college lands. General Putnam remained the man in authority among the colonists. As surveyor-general he usually led all reconnoitering expeditions. The records of the Ohio Company show this entry:

"December 16, 1795.

"The reconnoitering committee having reported that townships number eight and nine in the fourteenth range are most central in the Ohio Company's purchase, and it being fully ascertained that the lands are of an excellent quality.

"*Resolved,* Unanimously that the aforesaid townships number eight and nine in the fourteenth range be reserved for the benefit of an university, as expressed in the original contract with the Board of Treasury."

These townships were surveyed and platted during the years 1795-96 under the direct supervision of Rufus Putnam, "who from the first took an ardent interest in the selection of these lands and the founding of the university. His policy was to encourage the early settlement of the college lands, make them attractive and productive, and so begin the formation of a fund for the institution."

"These lands," says Ephraim Cutler, "with a large surrounding region, were the most favorite portions of the hunting ground which the Indians had surrendered in their several treaties."

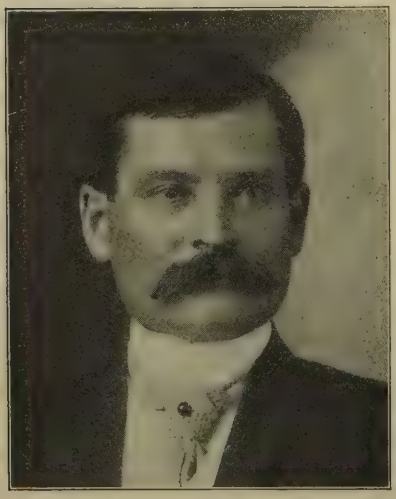
According to the same authority, the Indians continued to

return during the hunting season for many years thereafter. Four years later the Territorial legislature appointed a committee with Rufus Putnam as its head to "lay off a town plat with a square for the college." "The committee was accompanied by a surveyor, a number of assistants, and fifteen men to guard against a possible Indian attack. This was certainly a strange introduction of the classics into the Northwest. In a fleet of canoes, propelled by the power of the setting-pole against the swift and narrow channel of the Great Hock-Hocking, accompanied by armed guards against the lurking savages and carrying with them pork, beans, and hard tack that made up their rough fare, the committee of old veterans of three wars proceeded to fix with compass and chain the boundaries of the university lands. There was little of polish or culture in the undertaking, but rifles, canoes, and salt pork were never put to better use. Such was the genesis of the Ohio University."

Prof. Edwin W. Chubb,
*Dean Liberal Arts College.*

In 1801, Judge Ephriam Cutler stated that the University lands then contained about nine hundred inhabitants. Still the country was a wilderness. The campus was covered with poplar trees and flocks of wild turkeys were frequent. Dr. Eliphaz Perkins, at whose home the University trustees held their first meeting, took bear meat for his medical fees and he himself met bruin one day wandering over the campus inspecting the site of the proposed institution of higher learning. Although not on the ground, Dr. Cutler was still the prime mover in the establishment of the University. The

correspondence between him and Rufus Putnam at this time shows the deep interest he felt in having the college start off right. In a letter dated February 3, 1799, General Putnam gives some data as to the condition of affairs: that the University townships (now Athens and Alexander in Athens county) contain the best land in the whole of the Ohio Company's Purchase; that settlers mostly of the New England stock are rapidly filling them up; that a militia has been organized; that none of the settlers expect to occupy the land rent free for more than five years; then at an appraised value of twelve dollars per hundred acres; and the annual revenue to the University would be over $5,000.00.



HENRY W. ELSON,
*Professor of History.*

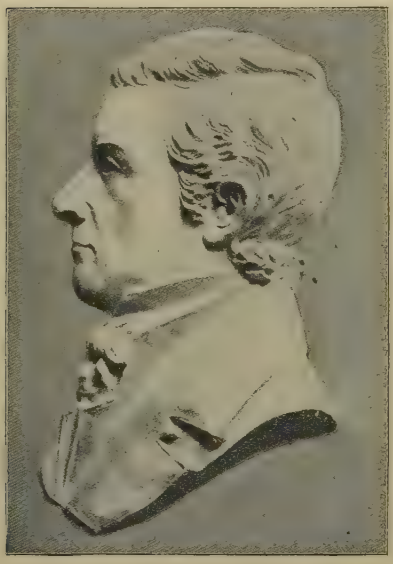
Dr. Cutler, under date of July 15, 1799, replied in substance, that he wished to build the University on a broad basis, since it was necessary to look forward to a time when the Western Territory would be in a different state from what it then was, that he had examined into the charters of seminaries in both Europe and America, but none appeared to accord with a plan so "liberal and extensive as I think ought to be the foundation of the Constitution of *this University*." The educational institutions of this country, however, offered to him more, and he finally modeled it after Harvard and Yale, more particularly the latter, of which he was an alumnus. Upon receipt of this letter General Putnam again wrote to his friend asking for some definite plan. "We are totally destitute of any copy of an incorporating act, or charter of a college or even an academy. I want you to make one out in detail, or procure it done for

us, and forward it by mail as soon as it is ready." In response Dr. Cutler prepared and forwarded to General Putnam a *Charter* of *University*, accompanied by a letter discussing the various articles of the instrument. The University was to be called the *American University* since the "sound was natural, easy, and agreeable." He then discussed the government of the institution which he admitted was not exactly what he had wanted, but the best he could offer under the circumstances. The rental of the college lands seemed to give him considerable anxiety and properly so, as the later history of the University amply shows. As to buildings, it would be necessary, in the first instance, to open a Latin school, for "I conceive it improbable that any youths can be found in the country qualified for admission as the students of the college." "I am under the greatest obligations to you for the attention you have paid to the subject," writes General Putnam, in reply, "and if it should not in all respects meet the approbation of our legislature, it must be of very great advantage to them in forming an opinion."

This charter with sundry amendments was duly passed by the Territorial legislature and approved by Arthur St. Clair, as Governor, January 9, 1802. General Putnam was authorized to call a meeting of the corporation. Nothing, however, was done in the matter. The political excitement of the year doubtless had much to do with the negligence. Ohio was trying to get into the Union and this topic was uppermost in the minds of everyone and absorbing every other interest. The first legislature of the new state provided for the appraisement of the college lands, which was done during the summer of 1803. The following year another act allowed the appraisers compensation for their services, at the rate of $1.43 per day. On the 18th of February, 1804, the legislature passed another act "establishing an university in the town of Athens," differing in some respects from the Act of 1802. The corporate name was changed to the *Ohio University*. The corporation was to consist of the governor of the state and the president of the faculty and a body of trustees. The act named the trustees and authorized the governor to call the first meeting. Thereupon Governor Tiffin set

the date for Monday, June 4, 1804, and notified the following gentlemen of their appointment: Judge Elijah Backus, General Rufus Putnam, Judge Dudley Woodbridge, Rev. Daniel Story, Rev. James Kilbourne, and Samuel Carpenter.

In obedience to the call, they met at the home of Dr. Eliphaz Perkins, who lived grandly in a double log house built of yellow poplar trees, neatly squared. It was two stories high and large enough to shelter the entire board of trustees. The upper story contained very comfortable sleeping rooms; the lower consisted of two large rooms separated by a hall in which on pleasant days the dinner table was spread.



Edward Tiffin,
*First Governor of Ohio.*

Dr. Perkins had located at Athens because of the prospective establishment of the college there — as a result two of his sons, five grandsons and two great grandsons have been enrolled as Alumni of the institution.

Governor Tiffin, himself, was present. He had ridden on horseback from Chillicothe, through the hills of Vinton county, sixty miles. Samuel Carpenter came from Lancaster, Rev. James Kilbourne from Worthington beyond Columbus, and Rufus Putnam from Marietta. The roads were only trails and there were but occasional pioneer huts to cheer the traveler. In going across the cliffs and following along winding streams the lone travelers passed the haunts of the bear, the wolf, and the panther. It seems incongruous, "These men had traveled fifty to one hundred miles, by blind paths or Indian trails through dense forests inhabited by wild animals, to this embryo village,

for the purpose of establishing an institution of learning." (Walker's History of Athens County.)

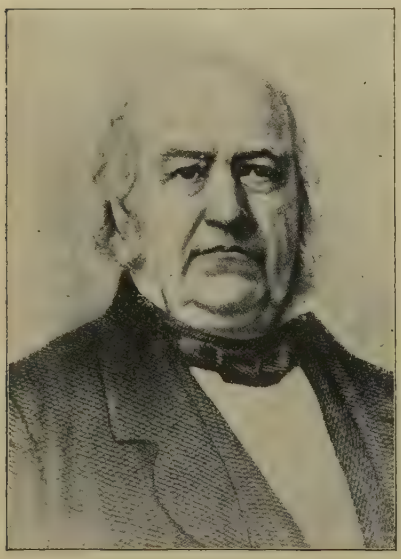
It may be well to glance at the personnel of the board to learn what manner of men these were. Governor Tiffin and Rufus Putnam are so well known that to mention their names is all that is necessary. Judge Backus was a graduate of Yale as was also Judge Woodridge. The Rev. Daniel Story was a graduate of Dartmouth. Rev. James Kilbourne was the first settler at Worthington, Ohio. Dr. Perkins, while not a trustee of the University but very influential in its establishment, was likewise a Yale graduate. It is interesting to note that five of these men were college graduates.

"This first session of the board lasted three days and was principally spent in arranging for the appraisal and leasing of the college lands. Since the surveying of these townships in 1795, numbers of new settlers had come in and occupied the lands. Some of these were rough and determined characters, and were bent on maintaining possession. To adjust these cases, settle disputed titles, etc., required patience, tact, and wisdom. The parties had either to be mollified and induced to come to terms, or be ejected from their lands. The first business of the board was to adjust the claims of conflicting parties, secure titles, and protect the corporation in its rights." (Walker's History of Athens County.)

Governor Tiffin in his message to the Legislature, December 4, 1804, called attention to what had been done and recommended a more liberal policy to the lessees of the land, in order to induce more rapid settlement that the institution might be immediately profited. The legislature responded with an act providing for the appraisement of the lands at not less than $1.75 per acre and the leasing of them for a period of ninety-nine years, renewable forever. The second meeting of the board of trustees was called for November 20, 1805, but no quorum present, they adjourned. The third meeting was held April 2, 1806. The long intervals between the sessions of the board were spent in surveying and leasing lands and in collecting rents. The trials of this period were many. Squatters had to be ejected. Money was scarce and rents were hard to collect.

At the meeting of 1806 it was decided that sufficient money had been collected to construct a house. Before the close of the year, plans were accepted, and contracts were let. The building was two stories high, twenty by thirty feet, built of brick, and stood on the east side of the campus.

March 2, 1808, the Rev. Jacob Lindley, Dr. Perkins, and Rufus Putnam were appointed a committee to report a system "for opening the academy, providing a preceptor, and conducting that branch of the Ohio University." The course of study as laid down included the English, Latin, and Greek languages, mathematics, rhetoric, logic, geography, natural, and moral philosophy. Rev. Lindley, a Princeton graduate, became the faculty and advertisements were made that the new school was in readiness. On "registration day" three young men applied for admission — John Perkins, Brewster Higley, and Joel Abbott. Because of the scarcity of money, a committee was appointed to receive hemp, beef, and pork, to market it, and to turn the proceeds into the college treasury. "Then might be seen the farmers bringing in the produce. As there were no scales in the town a committee of citizens was appointed to adjust differences between the lessee and the treasurer, should they not agree about the weight of the merchandise." It might be interesting to note who some of the trustees were in these early days of the infant college. A glance suffices to show many names of able men, noted for their ability and wise counsel. Among these might be mentioned Judge Silvanus Ames; Dr. Leonard Jewett, a graduate of the Boston Medical College;



THOMAS EWING.

Judge Elijah Hatch, for nine terms a state representative; Hon. Charles R. Sherman, father of John Sherman and General W. T. Sherman; Governor Thomas Worthington; Dr. S. P. Hildreth; Rev. James Hoge; Hon. Thomas Ewing; and Hon. Calvary Morris.

During these beginning years the growth was necessarily slow, but the college grew steadily in favor with the citizenship of the state. Globes, books, and apparatus were purchased and the attendance was very gratifying. In 1810 the laws of Princeton were adopted as the governing code and a course of study was formulated upon the completion of which the student was to receive the degree of bachelor of arts. The curriculum adopted compared favorably with the best eastern schools. In those strenuous days the trustees would meet for deliberation at five o'clock in the morning. The students would assemble for morning prayers at sunrise.

It was in December, 1809, that Thomas Ewing came to the Ohio University after his appetite for knowledge had been whetted to a keen edge by the now famous "Coon-Skin Library." He had just returned from the Kanawha Salines where he had earned enough money to keep him in school for three months "by way of testing my capacity. I left in the spring with a sufficiently high opinion of myself, and returned to Kanawha to earn money to complete my education. I went to Kanawha the third year, and after a severe summer's labor I returned home with about six hundred dollars in money, but sick and exhausted. Instead, however, of sending for a physician, I got Don Quixote, a recent purchase, from the library, and laughed myself well in about ten days. I then went to Athens, entered as a regular student, and continued my studies there till the spring of 1815 when I left, a pretty good though an irregular scholar."

May 3, 1815, the committee appointed by the board of trustees, to examine Thomas Ewing and John Hunter, candidates for a degree of bachelor of arts and sciences, beg leave to report:

"That they have examined the applicants aforesaid in the different branches, * * * * and that they have witnessed

with much gratification the proficiency made by the before-named students. * * * *

"That the said Thomas Ewing and John Hunter merit the approbation of the board of trustees, and that they are each entitled to a degree of bachelor of arts and sciences."

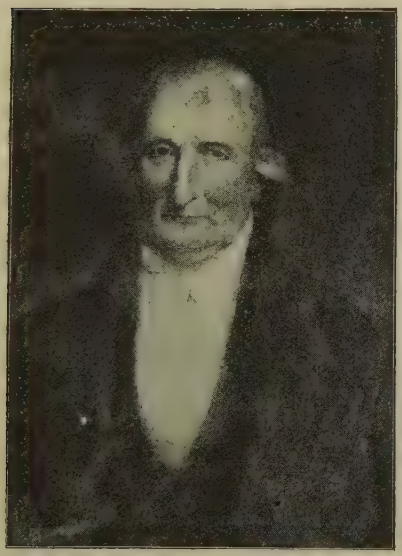
Then followed the first Commencement exercises in the Northwest Territory, at which Hunter gave the salutatory and Ewing the valedictory. Hunter died the next year; fifteen years later Ewing was in the United States Senate.

GOVERNOR JOHN BROUGH.

Three years before the board of trustees felt that a new college building was necessary. Accordingly a three-story brick substantially built and fairly equipped with library and apparatus was ready for occupancy in 1817. This edifice although repaired in 1887, is still standing in the center of the campus and is the oldest college building northwest of the Ohio. It was erected at a cost of about $17,000.

Increase in student attendance and new buildings necessitated additional teaching force. In 1812 an assistant had been employed. Six years later, Joseph Dana, a Dartmouth graduate, began the teaching of languages. Three years more Rev. James Irvine, a graduate of Union College, took the chair of mathematics. A principal was selected for the academy and a librarian employed. Later Professor Irvine was elected the President of the University but ill health prevented him from entering upon his duties and Rev. Dr. Robert G. Wilson, a Presbyterian clergyman, of Chillicothe, Ohio, was the wise choice of the trustees. Dr. Wilson was a South Carolinian

by birth. As a boy he had known John C. Calhoun, had received his academic education in the same academy in which Andrew Jackson had been educated, and had graduated with James Buchanan at Dickinson College. Princeton University had conferred upon him the doctorate. He was inaugurated to the presidency of the University August 11, 1824. The ceremony occurred beneath a bower of green leaves erected upon the college green. In one end of the bower was a high seat; to this place of honor he was escorted by Governor Jeremiah Morrow and Judge Ephraim Cutler. The latter, on delivering the keys and charter of the institution to the president, said:

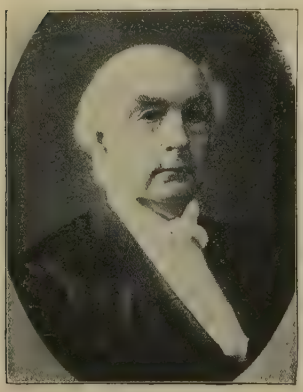


President Rev. Robert G. Wilson.

"The motives which governed the founders of this university in making the munificent donation from which its permanent revenues are derived, were so deeply interesting as to impose upon those to whose charge it shall be committed duties of no ordinary character * * * the trustees have now, * * * the opportunity of delivering over their keys and charter to one in whom they, and the public, have the highest confidence. That the merciful God, who has hitherto been pleased to smile on the efforts to disseminate light and knowledge, may aid and support in the arduous duties this day assigned you will be the fervent prayer of the trustees."

The beginning of Dr. Wilson's incumbency of the Presidency marks the beginning of a new era of the University. From this period may be dated its complete working system and large usefulness. Literary societies were in full blast; the nuclei of three libraries had been formed and a museum begun. The

pecuniary embarrassments of the institution had been overcome, without resorting to the lottery, that had been contemplated and for which the state legislature had given its sanction in 1817. A new building, the finest of its kind, a new president, and a strong faculty, with a rapidly growing new country, all conspired to make the town of Athens an educational mecca for this western country. The Ohio University for twenty years took precedence over many other colleges. From the time Thomas Ewing went forth as one of the two first graduates, the college maintained a standard of excellence second to none in the country. At the trustees' meeting held April 17, 1823, that body had already felicitated itself upon the position the infant institution had taken in the ranks of colleges.



JOHN T. BRAZEE.

"It is a subject of peculiar gratification that the standing of this institution is rapidly rising in the public mind. While there are many other institutions in the State, facts warrant the conclusion that the Ohio University has the precedence in the confidence of the public."

The trustees had ample reason for this burst of self-laudation. Every part of the State was represented in the student body. The Reed boys came from a farm near Urbana, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles. There were in the family seven boys and the father desiring to give them the best educational advantages within reach, selected the Ohio University. But their help was needed in both the spring and the fall on the farm, so they had to journey back and forth at these seasons. The journey was made in a two-horse carriage and it took three days to make the trip each way. The father took his boys back and forth one-hundred and twenty times. In all he traveled eighteen thousand miles or a distance equal to three-fourths around the globe. Of course it paid. Daniel, the eldest, who graduated in 1824, was for years a member of the

faculty of his *Alma Mater*. Then he became a college president. Three became successful lawyers and one of these a Judge of the Supreme Court of Ohio. Two became physicians and the seventh was shot while commanding a vessel in running the blockade in the Mississippi during the Civil War.

John T. Brazee arrived in Athens July 5, 1819, after walking sixty miles from Chillicothe. Graduating in the class of 1824, he became a member of the Lancaster bar, which at that time boasted of such legal lights as Ewing, Stanbery, and Hocking H. Hunter, and where he took first rank among his colleagues. Here, too, came Samuel Bigger, who became Governor of Indiana in 1840. Charles C. Convers of Zanesville, graduated in 1829, and when he died was a member of the Supreme Court of Ohio. Charles T. Sherman, another Lancaster boy in the class of 1830, became a Federal Judge. Cary A. Trimble became a noted surgeon and served two terms in the United States House of Representatives. George W. Summers, a son of the old Dominion, represented his state in the National House. Lucius Verus Bierce was commander-in-chief of the Canadian Patriots in the Canadian rebellion of 1838. .

Bishop E. R. Ames.

Among the noted divines who passed out of the University in these days, Bishop Ames and Lorenzo Dow McCabe of the Methodist Church are worthy of mention. These, too, are the days of "rough" John Brough of Marietta who "stuck" type for a living, kicked the foot-ball over Center Building for recreation, fell in love with his wife as an avocation, and at the same time succeeded in laying the educational foundation for his subsequent political career that finally made him one of the "War Governors" of Ohio.

This period of development continued without abatement reaching its high water mark in the days of the great William

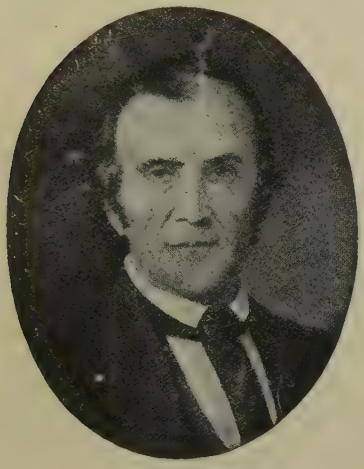
H. McGuffey, who succeeded President Wilson in 1839. The future of the college never seemed so bright. Two additional buildings known as the "East Wing" and the "West Wing" were completed in 1837 and 1839 respectively. The name of McGuffey was a household word in the western country and he drew students to him in great numbers. It was during his term that the magnificent row of elms facing the campus was planted, which are still known as the "McGuffey Elms". The time for the re-appraisal of the college lands was drawing near, which would materially increase the revenue of the college. The very atmosphere seemed full of the prophecy of a better day soon to be ushered in, when the dreams of the founders would more nearly be realized. Such was the promise when William H. McGuffey became President. The hopes of the friends of the institution were destined, however, to receive a severe shock. It is no credit to the lessees of these college lands that they opposed their re-appraisement and it is to the less credit of the state legislature that it should have been in collusion to defraud the University of its patrimony.

President Wm. H. McGuffey.

These days ushered in the "Dark Ages" of the University. It is not a pleasant chapter to write and no friend of the Ohio University can read it without a feeling that Governor Tiffin acted unwisely in opening a loop-hole through which the holders of the lands might get the ear of the legislature, that, in the language of James A. Garfield, acted with "an unfortunate exercise of power without right." This adverse legislation was enacted March 10, 1843. In 1861 the trustees of the University

petitioned the legislature for relief and a Senate Committee, of which Mr. Garfield was Chairman, made a finding in favor of the memorialists and in so doing reviewed fully but briefly the entire series of litigation and legislation. To make it clear there is no better method than to quote in part from this report.

"From the earliest legislation on this subject, it seems to have been the well settled opinion of the representatives of the Territorial and State Legislatures, and of all other parties in interest, that these two townships should, according to the intent of the grantor, be perpetually held by the state, as trustee for the purposes of the University, and that income for the support of the institution should be derived from the rents or uses of said land. * * * The Act of February 18, 1804, was passed for leasing, in appropriate lots or tracts, all the lands in the townships, eight and nine aforesaid, with a reserved rent annually, payable upon their appraised value, and with a condition and stipulation that such tract should be subject to revaluation at the end of thirty-five, sixty, and ninety years, and with the like rent of six per cent. upon such new valuations to be paid by the lease-holders. And in the nature of an immunity to the lease-holders, in reference to the first and all subsequent appraisements, and with a view to increased rents to inure to the University by rendering the lands more valuable and desirable to the occupants, it was provided that the lands with the buildings which may be erected thereon shall forever be exempted from all state taxes."



SAMUEL BIGGER.

"This act, in its main and essential features, has remained in force until the act of March 10, 1843, (which) provides in

substance that all the lands aforesaid should be forever exempt from any and all appraisement. The language of it is peculiar."

"Previous to this adverse legislation the lessees brought a suit in chancery in the Supreme Court of this state enjoining the Ohio University from re-appraising said lands. The Court unanimously decided in favor of the defendants."

"Upon investigation of the subject, your committee have become well satisfied that the memorialists have presented a fair case, entitling them to redress at the hands of the legislature of this state; that the act of March 10, 1843, gives evidence of power without right; that it is unjust to the Ohio University, unjust to the donors of the endowment, and unjust to the character and the honor of the state, in her relation to both of the other parties and to herself."

S. S. Cox

The failure of the trustees to increase the revenue of the college brought its finances into bad candition. There was a deficit in 1843 of $13,518.64 which increased in the following year. A number of the faculty resigned, students began to leave, and President McGuffey, sick at heart, resigned. For two years longer the struggle continued under the direction of a faculty committee and then, in 1845, this old college closed its doors, until such time, three years it was estimated, the accumulation of the small revenue might liquidate the debts. This was unfortunate in more ways than one. It lost the Ohio University some distinguished Alumni, from among the strong men who had been attracted thither by President McGuffey, and who now were compelled to go elsewhere. Among these might be mentioned the famous "Sun-

set" Cox who had come over from Zanesville. His room was in the Northwest corner of the second floor of the "West Wing". Here until a few years ago when in repairing the building it was necessary to remove it, could be seen on the south wall his celebrated painting of the Laocöon Group which for nearly sixty years was the silent reminder that "Sunset" Cox could paint with the brush as well as with words. The college was again opened for the reception of students

PAINTING OF THE LAOCOON.
*By S. S. Cox.*

September 14, 1848, but few appeared. Things had to start all over again. There was no graduating class until two years later and for several years thereafter the classes were small. The Rev. Alfred Ryors, a graduate of Jefferson College, became the President. He served but four years when he resigned, to be succeeded by Rev. Solomon Howard, a graduate of Augusta College, Kentucky.

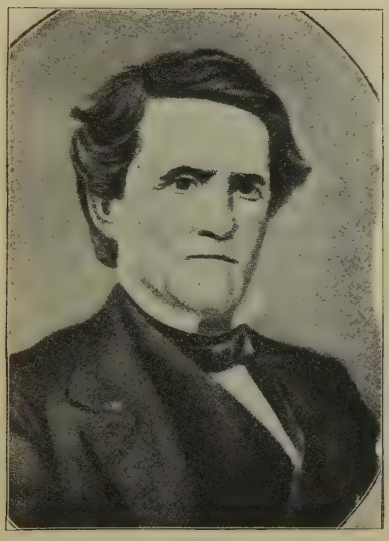
The following extract from a letter written several years ago to General Charles H. Grosvenor further illustrates the

position of Ohio University at this time. It was written by Theodore W. Tallmadge of Washington City, since deceased. Mr. Tallmadge was a Freshman at the University during the college year, 1842-43. It was the last year of William H. McGuffey as President. On account of the action of the Ohio Legislature, in denying the re-appraisement of college lands, it was supposed that the college would suspend immediately, so the students went elsewhere. Mr. Tallmadge went to Princeton, "Sunset" Cox became a student at Brown, and others went to other colleges.

President, Rev. Alfred Ryors.

"We had at that time a large number of students, probably more in attendance than at any University in the State. The faculty was of a superior order, and among them was Mr. Mather, the celebrated geologist and mathematician. Also the great classical professors, Kuhns and Read, highly cultivated scholars, were there. The character and ability of the students tallied with the esteem in which the professors were held by the community. The public literary entertainments, generally had in the Presbyterian Church, were of a high order. * * * We generally had exercises by the Literary Societies of the College at the termination of the winter session, just before the spring vacation. In addition were the Commencement exercises at the end of the scholastic year; often the students would celebrate the Fourth-of-July by proper exercises, several of them delivering orations and the Declaration of Independence being read. Many of these students that were my

companions at that time have become very conspicuous and influential citizens, not only in the State of Ohio, but in other states. Among them I might mention John B. Hoge of Richmond, Virginia; Converse Goddard of Zanesville, Ohio; R. Patterson Effinger of Lancaster, Ohio; Lorenzo D. McCabe and Dr. Silva of Chillicothe. About twenty per cent. of the students were from other states and at that time the Ohio University was patronized very generally by Virginians, as there was no competing university in that state.



PRESIDENT, REV. SOLOMON HOWARD.

"I suppose that it is generally known that Jefferson Davis was at one time a student at the Ohio University. I am reminded of this more especially because my father-in-law, Major Andrew Parks, of Charleston, West Virginia, was his room-mate. During the War, Major Parks was arrested as a hostage, he having been a member of the seceding convention of his state whereupon a letter from him to Jefferson Davis was the means of his immediate release, because the other party was at once discharged on parole."

"You would probably not be interested in any description of college scrapes during my experience at the University. I will mention some however. At one time some of us of Whig proclivities, who were at a meeting in one of the nearby villages at which the anticipated orator did not make his appearance, pointed out Samuel Sullivan Cox of Zanesville, one of my classmates, as a good speaker that would interest the audience and he made a very acceptable speech."

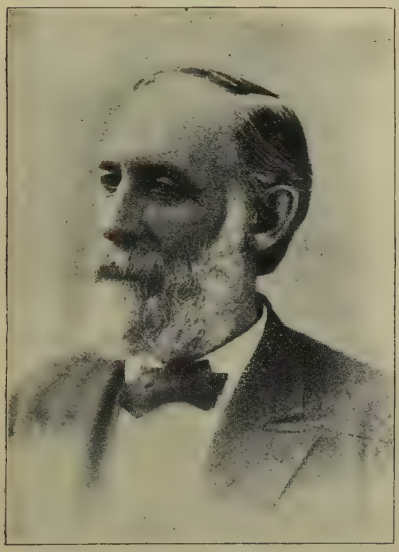
Dr. Howard remained at the head of the University for

twenty years and during his administration the school regained much of its former prestige and continued to send out some splendid men. While it was handicapped ever for money yet it did its work in a modest, effective way, proving that there are some things besides buildings and endowments in the making of a college.

In speaking of the student body of that period one can not but be impressed with the earnestness characterizing these young men. These were the days of Ben. Butterworth, who afterward represented his state so ably in the National House of Representatives. College-mates of his were the two Shiras boys—George P. who later became a member of the United States Supreme Court and Olive Perry, who served for twenty-one years on the Federal bench of Iowa. There were many others worthy of mention — Professor Young, the mathematician and Charles M. Walker, the journalist, Joseph C. Corbin, the Afro-American who became State Superintendent of Education in Arkansas, Judge Hindman of West Virginia, Hugh Boyd, the teacher, Charles S. Smart, later Ohio School Commissioner, Prof. Glenn Adney, Bishops David H. Moore and Earl Cranson of the Methodist Church, William H. Scott, afterward President of his *alma mater* and also of the Ohio State University, John W. Dowd, William S. Eversole, and William D. Lash, prominent Ohio School Superintendents, Judge John L. McMaster, of Indiana, Prof. Russell S. Devol, of Kenyon, Thomas C. Iliff, the distinguished missionary to the Mormons, Dr. Phillip Zenner, Prof. D. J. Evans, and President John

Judge Oliver Perry Shiras.

M. Davis of Rio Grande college, and scores of others. The years immediately succeeding the Civil War were especially noted for a large student body. Many of the students had laid aside their books to go to the front and others who had seen service in the army now felt the need of college training and took advantage of the free tuition offered to ex-soldiers at Ohio University. These men were of a more mature mind than the ordinary undergraduates and while they were "back" in many of their scholastic attainments they in a measure made up for this lack by their earnestness.



PRESIDENT, DR. WM. H. SCOTT.

It was in this period that co-education was introduced at Ohio University. Co-education did not come through the Board of Trustees, but the "co-eds" *came* and demanded entrance. The first one arrived, bag and baggage, and prepared to stay. For a while she was known as "Adney's private pupil" but as usual the women had their way, the doors were thrown wide open and today Ohio University would be rather a dreary place if it were not for the "co-eds." The circumstances are as follows:

Mr. Hugh Boyd, of Athens, was desirous that his sister, Margaret, should have a college education, but the "ladies' seminaries" of that time being below what he considered their standard should be, he and Professor Adney discussed the matter, and the latter decided to take his friend's sister as a pupil. It was known, however, that there existed a strong feeling against women attending the same college as men, a prejudice not confined to the towns-people, but the faculty as well, and it

was thought that if formal application were made, it would almost certainly be refused. Miss Boyd accordingly took a part of a term privately for preparation, then entered the Senior grade Preparatory as a "private pupil." In the catalogue of that year, 1868, her name is entered simply as "M. Boyd." But the next year the catalogue stated "Miss Boyd." The second woman student was Miss Boyd's niece, Miss Ella Boyd. Such was the beginning of co-education at Ohio University.

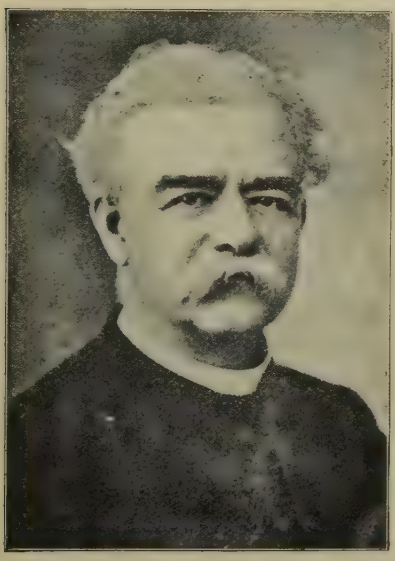
Dr. Howard was succeeded in the Presidency of the University by William H. Scott, of the Class of 1862. The coming of Dr. Scott as the head of affairs marks a new era in the life of the college. In 1872 matters at Athens were at a very low ebb. Only by the persistent efforts of a few loyal friends was the old school kept afloat. Salaries were low and it was hard to maintain a faculty. There was not enough money to repair the fence to keep the cows out of the campus. President Scott at once began to battle for the rights of the university. Almost the entire period of his term of office was spent in litigation and appealing to the legislature for redress, that resulted in reclaiming a part of the institution's lawful income. Great credit is due this loyal son of the Ohio University for his fearlessness and firmness in championing her interests. He left it finally in what, it is affirmed, he thought to be a moribund condition. But he builded better than he knew. He planted the seeds of a new life. His administration marks the Renaissance of the Ohio University. It was the beginning of a policy that opened the way for a newer day to the pioneer

CHARLES S. SMART.

college and which to a great extent fulfills the ambition of its founder.

Closely associated with President Scott in this contest was George Washington Boyce, of Cincinnati, who had graduated at the Ohio University in 1867. We will allow Dr. Scott to describe what took place.

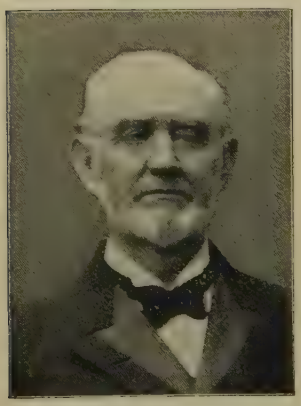
"In 1873 Mr. Boyce was elected a member of the House of Representatives of Ohio. He appreciated the honor which the office conferred and sought to perform all its obligations efficiently and worthily. But nothing connected with it gave him so much satisfaction as the opportunity it afforded him to render important service to his Alma Mater. The first act of this service was the introduction of a bill which provided that the state should refund to the University all the taxes that she had collected from those owners of the lease-holds lands of the University who had surrendered their leases and taken deeds in fee simple, 'with interest on the same since it was so paid in.' The argument for the measure was short and clear: The lands belonged to the University by an act of Congress passed before the state had an existence, and the state that was to be was made the trustee for the organization of the University and the administration of its affairs. In the act establishing the University the state had empowered it to collect a certain rent and an additional rent equal to the state taxes, and she had herself refrained from collecting any tax from the lands as long as they remained under lease. She thus acknowledged her relations to be that of a trustee, a relation which forbids the holder to



Bishop David H. Moore.

derive any profit from the trust which he administers. Therefore, in collecting taxes on such of the lands of the University as had been changed from a lease hold title to a title in fee simple, the state had violated her obligation as a trustee. The force of this reasoning was recognized by the General Assembly, and the bill passed March 25, 1875.

"But the argument was double-edged. We were met with the question, 'Why does not the University collect the equal amount to which it is entitled on those of its lands which still remain under lease?' To this no answer could be given, except that it never had been collected and that the trustees of the University were loth to arouse the opposition of the lessees by such action at so late a day. 'Very well, then,' we were told, 'let them be required to do it;' and it was only on the assurance that a bill to that effect would be introduced that some of the members were induced to vote for the first bill.'



Bishop Earl Cranston.

"So Mr. Boyce introduced a second bill requiring the trustees of the University 'to demand and collect said rents,' that is, 'the additional rent equal to the state taxes.' This measure excited warm and determined opposition among the lessees. Meetings were held, petitions were circulated, and delegations were sent to Columbus to work for its defeat. Mr. Boyce was besieged by argument and appeal and occasional threat. He received it all with hearty good nature, but stood like a rock. Indeed, the opposition only roused him to greater zeal. Fully convinced of the justice of the measure, and fully determined that the University in its need should receive what was so clearly its due, he fairly glowed with enthusiasm. His popularity with his fellow-members, his unremitting labor, and his intense earnestness were the chief factors in the result. The

bill became a law March 30, 1875, and was known thereafter as the 'Boyce Law.'

"These two measures added about $3000.00 to the annual revenues of the University. In the existing condition of the institution this sum was of itself no mean consideration; but it was worth far more as a legislative fact, for it opened the way for other and far greater sums.

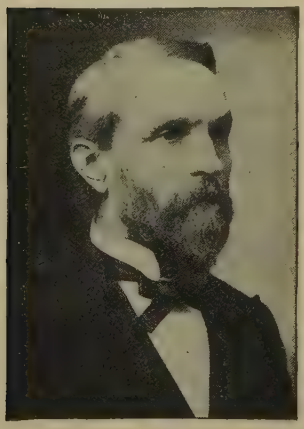
"Encouraged by these successes, some of the friends of the University obtained from the board of trustees a reluctant consent to ask for a direct appropriation from the state; and in 1880 a bill was introduced appropriating $20,000.00 for the repair of the buildings. The campaign for its passage was notable. Few had any expectation that it would ever pass. Some spoke of it with derision. Some sneered at it. Nearly everybody treated it coldly. Few, even of the trustees, took any active interest in it, and most of them considered the effort to secure its passage a waste of time and of the money spent for railroad and hotel expenses. But there were five or six men who had faith and who proved their faith by earnest and persistent work; of these there was no one who threw himself into the struggle with so much eagerness and abandon as Mr. Boyce. He was ready at every call. He gave his time without stint. He took advantage of his privileges as a former member of the House, and of his acquaintance with former members and with the members from Cincinnati to press the interests of the University. He extended his acquaintance among the members in order to win more votes. He headed off opposition. His vigilance, his ardor, his courage, his unflagging perseverance made his single presence a host.

Judge George P. Shiras.

"This bill passed the House in the Spring of 1880; but before it came to a vote in the Senate, the General Assembly ad-

journed. During the adjourned session, however, March 21, 1881, it was passed by the Senate in the face of determined opposition and by a bare majority. When the long contest was over and we were at last assured of success, Mr. Boyce was jubilant. I think I never saw a happier man."

President Scott was succeeded by Dr. Charles W. Super, a graduate of Dickinson College. The administration of President Super may well be considered as marking the "newer" Ohio University. Dr. Super saw a future for the institution. The entering wedge toward legislative help began to yield results. The Alumni roll also grew apace. The legislature to make amends for half a century of neglect began to make direct appropriations for its support. It has already been noted that in 1881 the sum of $20,000 had been appropriated for the repair of buildings. Two years later another sum of $10.000 was voted for the same purpose. The following year $5,000 for general support was set aside. The year 1886 indicates still another recognition; of the $8,000 intended for the college, $5,000 of it was to establish a Chair of Pedagogy. This was a wise move. As has been intimated Ohio University in its early history was noted as a strong teacher's college. This phase of her work was now to be strengthened by offering distinctly pedagogical courses. Dr. J. P. Gordy was called to the Chair of Pedagogy and it was a wise selection. Students began to flock, as in the days of McGuffey, to Athens.



President, Dr. Charles W. Super.

The direct appropriations continued to increase year by year. In 1896 bonds to the amount of $55,000 were voted for the erection of Ewing Hall, now the administration building. This same year President Super was succeeded by Dr. Isaac Crook, who managed the affairs of the institution until 1898. Dr. Super again took charge of the institution and in 1901

gave way to Dr. Alston Ellis, who retains the position at this time. The administration of President Ellis has marked a new and distinct era in the life of the Ohio University. It ushered in the Greater Ohio University. President Ellis with his long experience as a public school and college man has made a distinct impression on the policy of the institution, in the way of new and better things. This decade has witnessed the expenditure of more money by the State of Ohio on this pioneer college than in the whole century of its history. In 1900 there were five buildings on the campus. Now there are twelve. Then there was a faculty of twenty-two, now there are sixty-seven. Then there was a yearly enrollment of four hundred students, now there is one of fifteen hundred. The whole amount expended by the state in the way of permanent improvements and maintenance in this period is over a million and a quarter dollars.

President, Rev. Isaac Crook.

The coming of the State Normal College to the Ohio University was a distinct gain to the institution. Whatever opinions may exist as to the placing of a professional school for teachers alongside of a Liberal Arts College, there is but one, when the experience of Ohio University along this line is considered. The idea that a Normal College deteriorates a Liberal Arts College has been exploded at Athens. There is no more reason why these two colleges can not be coordinate than there is to say that a law school or agricultural college can not be connected within the same university.

The Normal College of Ohio University was established by

statute March 12, 1902. The state levies by taxation one and one-half one hundredths of one mill upon every dollar of taxable property of the state for its support. This yields about thirty-three thousand dollars annually. The law that has meant more to the Ohio University is the one passed April 1906, in which the State of Ohio, outlined its policy regarding the institution. It placed it among the wards of the state and thus retrieved itself for the years of neglect. No friend of the old college has any reason to complain of the recent action of the state. The state as trustee is doing well by its ward and the college is doing well by the people of the state. Today its work is more nearly akin to what its founders wished it to be than ever before. Its field of usefulness is found in its College of Liberal Arts, the State Normal College, the College of Music, the School of Commerce, the Electrical and Civil Engineering Departments, and the State Preparatory School.

C. L. MARTZOLFF,
*Alumni and Field Secretary.*

Ohio University has long been recognized and rightly too as the "poor boys' school." The authorities maintain with show of evidence that any young man or woman can graduate here with less expenditure of money than in any college in Ohio. The graduates of the Ohio University are admitted without question into the larger institutions of the country. She has now representatives doing graduate work and holding fellowships in Harvard, Clark, Chicago, Cornell, and Johns Hopkins.

The relationship existing between "town and gown" has always been the most aimable. In Athens the college is the big thing. Social life centers about the campus. The citizens of the town are interested in their historical old school, and as a result the students are invited into the best

homes. There are no saloons and the college authorities, the faculty, students, and their friends helped to bring this about.

This, in brief, is the story of the pioneer college of the central west. We have seen its origin, a gift from the national government, its growth, and its period of the "dark ages." But it has had its renaissance. So that in 1904, when its centennial was celebrated, its sons and daughters from the East and the West, the North and South, and even from beyond the seas gathered beneath the "old beech" that was standing when the bell first rang for classes at the opening of the last century. Here, too, they gazed at the row of seventeen elms planted by the hands of the great McGuffey, and wandered through the corridors of the old buildings that had sheltered them, and thousads of others through the lapse of the century, and all stood beneath the trees and sang the praises of "Old O. U."

MONUMENT SQUARE, SHOWING MCGUFFEY ELMS.

# BOWMAN'S EXPEDITION AGAINST CHILLICOTHE.

## May-June, 1779.

Draper MSS., Border Forays, 5 D. chap. 27, pp. 1-20.

[The following account of Captain Bowman's expedition against Chillicothe on the Little Miami, in 1779, is from the original manuscript of the Draper collection in the archive department of the Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin. During the past summer (1910), through the courtesy of Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, Secretary of the Wisconsin Historical Society, we were permitted to examine the extensive and valuable collection of the Draper Manuscripts and select therefrom certain ones for publication in this *Quarterly*.—Editor.]

In the month of October, 1776, the Commonwealth of Virginia passed an act dividing the county of Fincastle—then the most westerly of any in its jurisdiction—into three distinct counties, to one of which they gave the name of Kentucky, being, substantially, the present State so-called. The act took effect on the last day of the year.[1] On the twenty-first of December, *John Bowman* was appointed by Patrick Henry, jr., then Governor, to the office of Colonel of its militia.[2] In the Summer following, he arrived out, reaching Harrodsburgh on the second of September, when he took upon himself the duties of his office.[3] The Colonel was made Lieutenant of the county, in 1778, receiving his commission from Thomas Jefferson who had become Governor.[4] By virtue of his office, he had the general direction of military affairs, at that date, in that distant region.

By the terms of the treaty made by Lord Dunmore with the Shawanese in the Autumn of 1774, on the banks of the Scioto, that nation was to give up all the prisoners ever taken

[1] Hening's Stat's at Large, IX, 257.

[2] R. H. Collins' Hist. Ky., Vol. I, p. 10.

[3] Diary of George Rogers Clark, from Dec. 25, 1776, to 22d of Nov., 1777: MS. This Diary has been published—first in Morehead's Address—1840.

[4] Collins' Hist. Ky., I, p. 10.

by them in war both white people and negroes and all the horses stolen or taken by them since the close of the war of 1764; and further, no Indian of that nation for the future was to hunt on the Virginia side of the Ohio nor any white man on the other side of that river. This agreement at once opened the pathway for an advance of emigration into the region which soon after became the county of Kentucky. However, even before the treaty — in June, 1774 — James Harrod and others had erected a cabin in that country, upon the site of the present Harrodsburgh, Mercer county, — only to be deserted shortly after, because of the hostilities of the savages.[5]

The adventurers who came to the Kentucky country in 1775, enjoyed, for that season, almost entire immunity from savage aggression; only a few killed and wounded; enough, however, to induce the settlers to be watchful — ever on their guard. But the next year — 1776 — the Indians were more emboldened. With an increase of emigration came an increase of their attacks. The machinations of the British began to have an effect upon the Shawanese; and the Mingoes, who, it will be remembered, were not a party to Lord Dunmore's treaty, were avowedly hostile. Already the pioneers had availed themselves of the advantages of rude forts as protections against the savages: one was commenced and completed in the early part of April, 1775, near the mouth of Otter creek in what is now Madison county, and was known as Fort Boone.[6] Others were built as the exigencies of the settlements seemed to demand; among them, that of McClelland's, adjoining the site of the present Georgetown, Scott county, which, on the twenty-

[5] "July 24, 1774. Proceeded to the cabin (Harrod's) four miles further. At our arrival, we were surprised to find every thing squandered upon the ground, and two fires burning. Mr. Floyd and Mr. Nash went down to the landing and found these words written on a tree: 'Alarmed by finding some people killed. We are going down this way.'"—Journal of a Surveyor.

[6] "On the 14th (of April) the Fort was finished:" Bradford's Notes. "Thursday, 20 (April, 1775)—Arrived at Fort Boone, on the mouth of Otter Creek, on Cantuckee River, where we were saluted by a running fire of about 25 guns:" Henderson's Journal—MS. This has been published.

ninth of December, 1776, was assailed by the Pluggy's-town gang of Mingoes and their famous leader killed[2] — the first regular attack upon any fort in Kentucky.

Early in 1777, the Indians commenced their depredations in the settlements south of the Ohio. More of the Shawanese now started upon the war-path from their towns upon the Scioto and Miami. Before the end of the year, a large portion of that nation had taken up the hatchet. In the Spring, as there were but very few men interested in keeping possession of the posts on the north side of the Kentucky river, they broke up — their occupants removing, on the thirtieth of January, either to Boonesborough or Harrodsburgh. The whole population was then in these two forts and did not exceed one hundred and fifty men fit for duty, with about forty families. As the months wore away, both posts were attacked,[7] but neither taken. In the meantime, Logan's fort near the site of the present town of Stanford, Lincoln county, was occupied;[8] it, too, was assailed by the savages, but their attack proved unsuccessful.[9] So troublesome had been the Indians throughout the year — so discouraging had their hostilities proved to immigration — that, at its close, the settlements were restricted to the three forts just mentioned.

The siege of Boonesborough was the great event of the year 1778, in Kentucky. Preparations for this, at the principal town of the Shawanese Indians north of the Ohio,[10] operated for a length of time to restrain small parties of savages from their incursions into the settlements. Still, there were Indian depredations before and after that event. As to the siege itself — it is more notorious for what was not accom-

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[2] Bradford's Notes on Ky. (Stipp's West. Miscel.), pp. 25, 26. Clark's Diary—MS. Morehead's Address, p. 161.

[7] Each twice: Harrodsburgh, on the 7 March and 29 Apr.; Boonesborough, on the 24 Apr. and 23 May.—Clark's Diary: MS.

[8] "This was in March:" MS. Narr. of Wm. Whitley. Marshall's Hist. Ky., I, 48.

[9] This occurred May 30th: Clark's Diary—MS. Compare Morehead's Address, p. 162.

[10] "Old Chelicothe (Chillicothe), the principal Indian town, on Little Miami:" Filson's Kentucke (1784), p. 63.

plished than for any particular success of the enemy. That three hundred and thirty Indians with eight Canadians,[11] one of whom — Captain Isadore Chêne[12] — commanded the expedition, should, for eleven days and nights, beleaguer the rude stockade causing a loss of only two killed[4] and four wounded, notwithstanding at one time nine men were outside negotiating with the enemy, — is something bordering on the marvelous. This occurred in September. The savages then dispersed to the different forts, waylaying hunters but captured no posts.

The time had arrived with the opening of the Spring of 1779, when it was very evident to the settlers of Kentucky that, of all the Indians who were at that time infesting the country, the Shawanese were the most active and blood-thirsty. It seemed exceedingly plain to them that from Chillicothe, on the Little Miami, came most of the war-parties marauding in the now increasing settlements.[13] "Why should not that prolific hive of mischief be destroyed?" was a question then frequently asked. And it was finally determined, by the settlers, to free themselves from danger and their settlements from savage inroads, to carry an expedition against it. John Bowman, residing at Harrodsburgh, as Colonel of militia and Lieutenant of Kentucky, called for volunteers, resolved to take the command of them in person; — the first regular enterprise to attack, in force, the Indians beyond the Ohio, ever planned in Kentucky. Bowman, the year previous, had contemplated an expedition to the same town, and sent Simon Kenton with two others to Chillicothe to make discoveries. The settlers were

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[11] Jno. Bowman, in Butler's Ky. (2d Ed.) p. 534. "Four hundred and forty-four Indians—twelve Frenchmen (Canadians):" Filson, 67, 68. "Five to seven hundred Indians—twelve Frenchmen (Canadians):" Bradford. Bowman wrote on the 14th of October, 1778—not many days after the siege was raised.

[12] A. S. De Peyster's "Miscellanies," pp. 247, 261. C. I. Walker's Address before the State Hist. Soc. Wis., 31 Jan., 1871.

[4] David Bundrin and a negro named London.

[13] "April 1, Robert Patterson, at the head of twenty-five men, commenced a blockhouse where Lexington now stands:" George W. Ranck.

to plant their corn and be in readiness to rendezvous in May, at the mouth of Licking. The Shawanese seem not to have had any apprehensions of such a retaliation for their frequent invasions of the Dark and Bloody Land. The place of meeting for the volunteers of the interior was fixed at Harrodsburgh; whence, under Benjamin Logan and Silas Harlan, as Captains, they marched to Lexington, meeting at that point a company from Boonesborough commanded by Captain John Holder. These two companies were there reinforced by another headed by Captain Levi Todd; they marched from Lexington by way of the Little North Fork of Elkhorn, encamping the first night near its mouth. Their second encampment was on a small branch of Mill Creek, about two miles northward from Lee's Lick. Thence, they went down the Licking, until they finally reached its mouth — opposite what is now the city of Cincinnati, then a howling wilderness — the place appointed for the general meeting of the army; the site of the present city of Covington, Kentucky.[14]

Previous to this time, William Harrod as Captain had reached the place appointed for the general meeting with a company of men from the Falls of the Ohio — Louisville. To stir up the people that volunteering might go forward with alacrity, Harrod took "the stump," while his company was forming, haranguing the settlers, showing the necessity of the expedition, and that the settlements in the other parts of Kentucky were desirous of promoting the enteprise. With his force, when it arrived at the mouth of Licking, were a number of men from Redstone Old Fort, on their way home, but who proposed to go upon the expedition. They had visited the Big Bone Lick and had with them a canoeload of specimens from that interesting locality, which they were transporting up the river. Harrod had been ordered by Bowman to meet him with boats to enable the troops to cross the Ohio — two keel-boats and

[14] Just before their arrival, one of the men wandered off hunting. Ascending a hill, he saw below him a buffalo. The beast taking the alarm started off at full speed but stumbled upon some rocks and fell prostrate. The hunter pursued, jumped upon the animal's back and dispatched him with his knife. He was greatly complimented by the troops.

three canoes were brought up for that purpose to the place of rendezvous. The men from the Falls employed their time until the arrival of the other companies in hunting; — killing buffalo, bears, and deer, for provisions. They had killed some game while at the Big Bone Lick.

Colonel Bowman left the men from Lexington, on their way to the Ohio, — turning off to the right, to go to Licking — afterward Ruddell's Station. Here he found a few men under Lieutenant John Haggin. With this force, he started for the mouth of Licking where he arrived on the twenty-seventh of May, and immediately began preparations for crossing; as the troops were now all present and eager to be led into the wilderness. "I had gathered," afterward wrote Bowman, "two hundred and ninety-six men."[15]

Early in the morning of the twenty-eighth of May, 1779, immediately below the mouth of Licking river, Colonel John Bowman and his army crossed the Ohio. Thirty-two men remained to take care of the boats; — two hundred and sixty-five, including officers, formed into marching order with George M. Bedinger as Adjutant and Quarter Master, commenced their march along an Indian trace for the objective point of the expedition — the Shawanese town, on the east side of the Little Miami, distant about sixty-five miles in a northeast direction, piloted by George Clark and William Whitley. The men were mostly on foot, not very heavily encumbered with provision — a peck of parched corn and some "jerked" meat to each man was all. Firing was interdicted after crossing the

[15] Bowman to Geo. Rogers Clark, 13 June, 1779: MS. letter. The following was the number of men (officers included) belonging to each company:

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|---|---|
| Capt. Logan's Company | 48 men. |
| Capt. Harrods's Company | 99 men. |
| Capt. Holder's Company | 58 men. |
| Capt. Todd's Company | 28 men. |
| Capt. Harlan's Company | 43 men. |
| Lieut. Haggin's Company | 19 men. |
| Col. Bowman | 1 |
| Total | 296 men. |

river and the whole force marched rapidly on their way, making directly for the Little Miami, which stream they were to follow to the Indian town. One of the pilots upon the expedition was William Whitley. The volunteers were armed with rifles and tomahawks. They arrived within ten miles of Chillicothe at dusk, on the twenty-ninth when a halt was ordered. During the whole journey not an Indian had been seen, and the Commander was sanguine of being able to surprise the savages.[16]

A council was now called to determine upon the time of attacking the town. It was resolved to march that night and invest the place and commence the attack at day-break the next morning. A point a few hundred yards south-west of the village, in a prairie, was reached a little after midnight. Bowman and his Captains now went forward to reconnoitre. They were gone about an hour. Upon their return, a disposition of the force was made preparatory to the attack.[17] The men were separated into three divisions: one under Captain Logan was to March to the left of the town; another under Captain Harrod to the right until they met on the north side. The other division under Captain Holder was to march directly in front of the village, but to stop some distance away. By this arrangement there would be an opening south of the two first mentioned companies through which, when the alarm was given, the Indians might escape; — they would be allowed to go some distance from their cabins before encountering, immediately before them, the Company of Holder. This was a very ingeniously contrived plan; for, if all the men were to rush up at once, the enemy would be forced to remain in their wigwams where they could fight their assailants at a great advantage on their side. Silently and undiscerned, the three divisions took the positions assigned them and impatiently awaited the appearance of day, so as to begin the work of death. The men under Harrod and Logan, at a given signal, were to commence

[16] During the march out one of the men was bitten by a rattlesnake. He was sent back to the boats accompanied by a comrade, with orders to be sent back to the Falls of the Ohio.

[17] Statement of Henry Hall, a survivor, made in 1844.

the attack; while Holder's were to lie in ambush, to await the out-rushing of the frightened savages and pour in upon them, as they appeared, a deadly fire. It was understood if the men should be discovered before daylight — Holder's division was to endeavor immediately to fire the cabins. It was not long before the Indian dogs set up a loud and persistent barking. Their owners would come out, in some instances, and encourage them on as if they were apprehensive of danger.

The town thus silently encompassed by two hundred and sixty-three backwoodsmen anxious for daylight to appear, was the Little Chillicothe of the Shawanese; known, however, to the frontiersmen of that day as New Chillicothe. The center of the village was about one hundred and seventy rods east of the Little Miami. Skirting along on the east side of the town was a small stream, afterward called Old Town Run, which, with a course nearly north, empties its tribute into Massie's creek at no great distance away. On the west side of the village was a fine spring, the waters from which run in a southwesterly direction, soon to mingle with those of the Little Miami. A prairie lay adjoining the town, on the south; and the cabins were built some distance upon one, on the North. A ridge south of the spring, extended from the skirts of the village in a southwest course to the river; another, just across the run to the east, has a northeast trend to Massies Creek.[18] The site of the village is about three miles north of the present town of Xenia — county-seat of Greene county, Ohio.

At the time of this expedition against the Shawanese their whole number of warriors at Wapatomica, Machacheek and Piqua[19] on Mad river and at Chillicothe on the Little Miami was about five hundred, of whom one hundred were in the latter village with about two hundred squaws and children. About a month previous, true to the wandering instincts of that nation, four hundred of their warriors with their families, under their chiefs Black Stump and Yellow Hawk, accom-

[18] MS. Notes of James Galloway.

[19] The birth place of Tecumseh; it was situated on the north side of Mad river about five miles west of the present site of Springfield, in Clark county, Ohio.

panied by the French trader, Laramie, migrated west of the Mississippi, settling upon Sugar creek, a little distance above Cape Girardeau in what is now the State of Missouri, then under Spanish rule. The principal chief of the Shawanese at Chillicothe when the town was invested by Bowman, was Black Fish. His subordinates were Black Hoof and Black Beard. Northeast of the center of the town stood the council house — a large building, said to have been sixty feet square, built of round hickory logs, one story high, with gable ends open and upright posts supporting the roof. Black Fish's cabin was some thirty yards to the west of this structure. There were several board houses or huts in the south part of the village — some ten or twelve.[20]

Now it so happened while the army of Bowman lay quietly around Chillicothe, a Shawanese hunter was returning, on its tail, excitedly of course to the threatened village. As he neared Holder's division, "puffing and blowing," fearful of falling into a trap, he suddenly stopped, and made a kind of interrogative ejaculation, as much as to say, "Who's there?" — when one of the men very near him, shot, and the savage fell, at the same time giving a weak, confused yell. Immediately another soldier ran up and tomahawked and scalped him.[21] The firing of that gun set at naught many of the wise plans and well-laid schemes depending upon daylight for their execution. A few Indians came out in the direction of the report, to ascertain the cause. As they approached Holder's line, the men laid close and still, only cocking their guns. But this was enough to alarm the vigilant savages who hastily retreated, receiving a volley as they fell back, wounding Black Fish severely, the ball ranging from his knee along up his thigh and out at the joint shattering the bone; showing that he received the wound in a squatting position. He was taken to his cabin by three warriors.

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[20] Statement of Joseph Jackson: 1884. Jackson was a prisoner to the Shawnese and in Chillicothe when attacked by Bowman, as will presently be seen.

[21] Statements of Geo. M. Bedinger, a survivor: 1839 and 1843. Jackson also speaks of the return of this hunter, and his being killed.

He called upon them not to leave him but to stand their ground and all die together.[22]

The return of the party of observation and the volley fired by Holder's men, fully aroused the slumbering occupants of Chillicothe. There was immediately a great out-cry and confusion. About seventy-five warriors taking advantage of the darkness escaped through the lines which surrounded the town. The squaws and children with a few men made a rush for the council house. According to previous orders Holder's division now advanced and set fire to the town. The men reached the board shanties on the south, and at once began the work of plundering, giving the savages ample time to fortify themselves by fastening securely the door of the huge building they had congregated in. The houses were set on fire as fast as they were plundered. This attracted the attention of the other divisions, portions of which, without orders, left their positions and joined in the work of securing valuables.

No sooner were the cabins all ablaze than an attempt was made to capture the Council house; but the assailants were so warmly received that they were glad to fall back. It now began to grow light in the east and Bowman satisfied that it would be impossible to capture the stronghold of the enemy sent word to Logan's and Harrod's divisions to fall back to the south of the town. Meanwhile, in front, a desultory fire was kept up between some of Holder's men and those within the Council house; the stragglers from the other divisions also took part. When it became broad daylight, a few men, in their endeavors to get as near the building as possible in hopes of killing some of the inmates, found themselves so much exposed that to attempt a retreat would be certain to draw upon them a volley from the council house. They had taken a position behind a large white oak log not over thirty yards from the enemy. Some of the party in moving their bodies to get a good position for delivering their fire, were killed. The survivors finally heard a voice calling to them to retreat; but how this was to be done was the question. Adjutant Bedinger concluded to make

[22] These interesting details are given by Jackson.

the attempt. The spot where the men lay was south east of the Council house. Bedinger sprang up, ran a very zigzag race across the stream east, and escaped unhurt, although a volley was fired at him. The rest of the party immediately ran to an empty cabin near by reaching it before the enemy had time to reload their rifles.

The men remained in the hut some time, trying to devise means to escape. Finally a novel plan was hit upon. Each one provided himself with a plank and holding it upon his back slantingly so as to protect his body from the bullets of the savages, started upon the run. This movable backwork — rather than breastwork — proved amply sufficient to save the lives of all; for they all escaped over the fork of Massie's creek near by; dropping, each one, his puncheon as he entered in safety the cornfield at that point.[23]

During all this time the scenes being enacted within the Council house were of a strange character. Assatakoma, a conjurer, nearly one hundred years old, kept constantly calling out, encouraging the few warriors congregated there — not over twenty-five in number, with about fifteen boys who could shoot; but quite a number had no guns to use. The squaws and children kept up a great noise — screaming and whooping. The Indians managed to make what answered for port-holes, between the logs and in the roof of the building, through which they fired. Joseph Jackson who had been a prisoner to the Shawanese since February of the preceding year, calmly surveyed the scene — tied as he was to a post in the midst of the shrieking crowd. At the first alarm, he had seized a rifle and started for the woods, but was overtaken by a warrior, brought back, and secured, as just related.

As soon as Bowman determined not to attempt the capture of the Council house, deeming it too strong to be assailed with rifles only, and had called back the divisions to the southwest of the town, the principal effort was to secure horses — a large number being found near by in a kind of commons —

[23] Statement of Bland W. Ballard, a survivor; 1844. Jackson, Bedinger and others are corroborative.

evidently driven in from the woods by the flies. One hundred and eighty were captured.[24] The army was thus engaged when the surviving stragglers who had been in such close quarters behind the oak log, arrived. The sun was then about two hours high. The amount of plunder taken from the cabins that had been burned and from others on the west side of the town not fired, was considerable, consisting of silver ornaments — of which a large number was found — and clothing. By nine o'clock everything being arranged marching orders were given and the army started upon its return having lost eight men killed in exposing themselves to the fire of the savages within the Council house and one wounded. The trail out was the route taken; the men, as is usual with volunteers and militia upon such occasion, being at first in considerable confusion. the principal cause, however, was this: soon after daylight a negro woman came out of the Council house as if having escaped the savages, and reached the army without harm. She declared that Simon Girty with one hundred Shawanese from Piqua — twelve miles distant — was hourly expected. The commander gave little credence to this tale; but the story getting among the men and the number of Girty's savages increasing to five hundred by the time of starting, caused some consternation — resulting in a disposition of many to be off regardless of the manner of their going; but order was soon restored and the march continued.

After making fourteen miles, Indians were discovered in pursuit, soon commencing an attack. Bowman with great courage and steadiness called a halt, formed his men in a hollow square — ready to meet the savages should they appear in force. It was soon discovered there were but a few of them, but as they continued their annoyance, wounding some of the men, a small detachment charged out and routed them. One of their number was killed and scalped. Bowman had three of his men wounded, in all, during the afternoon, — none killed. After this, they were not again molested by the Indians.

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[24] MS. Notes of James Ray, a survivor, taken in 1833 by Mann Butler.

The army reached the Ohio just above the mouth of the Little Miami, early on the first day of June, where they found the boats in waiting. The men were soon conveyed across the stream — the horses swimming. The number of the latter captured from the savages, reaching the Kentucky shore, was one hundred and sixty-three.[25] The boatmen, while the army was absent, had remained in the batteaux and canoes moving up and down the river, for greater safety.

The army now feeling greatly at ease moved leisurely some three or four miles to the rear of the elevated hills which skirted the Ohio until a fine spring was reached where it halted. Hunting and fishing soon supplied the camp and what with rest and sleep enjoyed, soon gave new life and vigor to all. They were again in Kentucky where pea-vines, wild clover and wild rye furnished an abundance of food for the half famished horses. It was now agreed to have a sale of the horses and other booty; and then, an equal division was to be made of the amount realized. The captains were to keep the account of the amount purchased by their respective companies and when it should be ascertained that any one had bid in property exceeding the amount of his dividend he was to pay the surplus — having a credit of one year — to his commanding officer. The several sums thus collected were to be divided among such as did not purchase to the full amount of their dividend. The vendue realized a little over thirty-two thousand pounds, giving to each one of the two hundred and ninety-six about one hundred and ten pounds, Continental currency.[26] Many purchased more than that amount; but, as these debtors were scattered afterward from Red Stone Old Fort on the Monongahela to the Falls of the Ohio and Boonesborough, no collections were ever made, or if made were never paid over to those who were justly entitled thereto; so, it resulted in each one securing, in most cases, just what was struck off to him at the vendue.

The Monongaheleans now took to their canoes and made their way up the Ohio to their homes; while the residue scat-

[25] MS. Statement of James Patton, a Lieutenant in Capt. Harrod's Company.

[26] Patton's Statement, just cited.

tered to their various places of abode — the general impression being that the expedition was far from a failure. The amount of booty obtained was large; the march had been conducted outward with great secrecy; and it was evident to all, but for the accident of the return just as that inauspicious moment of the Shawanese hunter, the whole village would have been captured; — as it was, not only many of their cabins were burned, but much corn was destroyed. It is very evident from the journals of that day, that the enterprise was looked upon as a success.[27] The noted leader of the Shawanese nation, Black Fish, died of his wound in about six weeks from that date. One of the assailants supposed to have been killed behind the white oak log near the Council house and numbered among the dead of the expedition, was found soon after the return march began, fast asleep and entirely free of any wound. An aged warrior begged to have the opportunity of killing him; as it would be, doubtless, the last chance he would ever have of wreaking his vengeance upon the foe. The request was granted, and he tomahawked the soldier, who made not the slightest resistance — who uttered not a single word — as the old savage assailed him with the instrument of death; — a priceless boon to the unhappy man, who no doubt fully expected as his fate horrible tortures at the stake.

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[27] Extract from the Va. Gaz., July 10, 1779 (No. 22): "By a gentleman from the frontiers we are informed, that Captain Bowman with 200 volunteers marched from Kentucky against Chillacoffee, the lower Shawanese town, and surrounded it the 29th of May last (being the night the moon was totally eclipsed) without being discovered. At daybreak the next morning he made an attack, and after a short engagement, the Indians with a number of British troops, fled to a small block house which the red coats had provided for a safe retreat. Captain Bowman burnt the town, together with a great quantity of corn, ammunition and stores. He has taken from the enemy 163 valuable horses, loaded with goods to the amount of £32,000. The Indians had five killed at the town and were repulsed with loss in two attacks they made on our party on their return. We had seven men killed in this expedition."

# SIGNIFICANCE OF PERRY'S VICTORY.

BY ISAAC J. COX.

[On the evening of February 23d, 1910, the Ohio Perry's Victory Commission, appointed by the Governor of Ohio to make suitable arrangements for the celebration of Perry's Victory on Lake Erie, September 10, 1913, had a hearing before a special joint meeting of both houses of the Ohio Assembly. On this occasion Dr. Isaac J. Cox, professor of American History in the Cincinnati University and President of the Ohio Valley Historical Association, delivered the following address. — EDITOR.]

Our second war with Great Britain, usually spoken of as the "War of 1812," was the struggle of the United States for industrial and social independence of Europe. Just as the thirteen colonies four decades before had thrown off the political ties which bound them to Europe, so the eighteen states that in 1812 composed the American Union waged a second war against Great Britain for the purpose of making real and effective the independence which they had nominally gained in 1776. It is this struggle which emphasizes American nationality, and in all that went to characterize it, with one marked exception, the Northwest emphasizes, point by point, its main features.

I have just stated that the war was one which emphasized American nationality, but it will be necessary, at the very outset, to call attention to certain sectional conditions which arose during the different years of the struggle. It was during this period that the New England states grew restive under national control and paused just short of threatened secession. At this time the South and the Southwest were absorbed by the prospect of gaining Florida, of defending Louisiana, or of carrying filibustering warfare into the heart of the Mexican Viceroyalty. On the Atlantic coast the struggle is divided into petty conflicts during which one section after another felt the weight of British naval supremacy. The capture of Washington and the defense of Baltimore, predatory ravages on the coast of

Maine, Virginia and of Georgia, a brilliant series of naval conflicts that arouse national spirit but achieve no noteworthy purpose, a series of incompetent exploits along our Great Lake frontier, savage border warfare in Ohio, Indiana, and the remaining portions of the Northwest — these are some of the distressing features of a conflict which originated in national desperation but happily, in its outcome found vent in national expansion and national glorification.

I have stated that the Northwest represented, upon a small scale, nearly every important feature of this struggle. The surrender of Detroit bears a close comparison with the ignominious defense of Washington City; the struggle to retain Fort Erie suggests the successful repulse of the British at Baltimore. These two events, at the opposite extremes of Lake Erie, mark out that body of water as the real center of the conflict with Great Britain in the Northwest. Throughout the Ohio Valley and the highlands to the east of it there exists a widespread desire for the conquest of Canada — a desire paralleled by the southern determination to obtain the Floridas. The retaliatory raids around Lakes Erie and Ontario suggest the coast operations from Maine to Georgia. The Indians of the Northwest, under British control, form a hostile group more formidable than the Creeks that terrorized the Southwest. National humiliation and national inefficiency, each finds its counterpart within the limits of our section, but in one marked respect, it presents no significant example. There is no Hartford convention in the Northwest; no evidence of New England secession can be detected even amidst the discouragements that retarded every campaign. The Northwest Territory, the first child of the Union, remains true to its parent in this hour of adversity.

The series of events leading up to Perry's victory need be only casually mentioned. The fall of Detroit in the fall of 1812 opened Mackinac Island and Fort Dearborn (on the site of Chicago) to Indian attack, and the abandonment of Wisconsin naturally followed. The months of calamity in the latter portion of 1812 led to the deeper gloom of the following winter when the Raisin river massacre halted Harrison's opera-

tions in northern Ohio and rendered the policy of the Northwest one of defense rather than conquest. Later in the year however, the successful defense of Fort Meigs and Croghan's brilliant engagement at Fort Stephenson check the tide of British conquest. It was high time that this result was brought about. The war parties of Indians were carrying on operations within thirty miles of Louisville, and threatened a reversion to conditions which existed thirty years before, when on the northern bank of the Ohio white and Indian were contending with each other for the territory which the new national government had just opened to settlement. Apparently the struggle that had marked the years immediately succeeding the Revolution was to be re-enacted in all of its horror. The situation illustrates the fact that the conquest of the wilderness, before modern methods of communication were known, was a most appalling task, involving the prospect that the territory so hardly won for civilization might at any moment relapse into the possession of its former savage occupants. This lack of communication was the crowning difficulty of campaigning in the Northwest, and he who successfully solved the question should of right be twice crowned as victor over the foe and over the savage wilderness.

It is upon this scene of desolation, incompetence, and well conceived terror, in the spring of 1813, that young Oliver Hazard Perry arrives and begins preparations for that victory which we desire to commemorate. The administration has indeed turned its attention toward the Northwest, but its interests had not been vitalized. William Jones, at the head of the Navy Department in Washington, was inefficient; Commodore Chauncey on Lake Ontario, Perry's immediate superior, was indifferent to the fate of the Northwest. The whole situation, then, depended upon the genius and energy of the young Rhode Islander, and well did he execute his formidable task! The mention of Perry's native state suggests comparison between him and another famous Rhode Island fighter, the Quaker blacksmith, Nathaniel Greene. Just as Greene restored order in the confused Commissary Department of the Continental Army at Valley Forge and breathed a new spirit into

the forces of the South during his Carolina campaigns, so did Perry bring order out of the chaos of the Northwest and affect his associates with his indomitable spirit. "Everything from nothing." — This expression well characterizes his exploit. He must construct a fleet, and that, too, without regard to the time element, for haste means victory. To construct this fleet he must bring the iron from Pittsburg, the tackle from Philadelphia, Baltimore, or New York, and munitions of war from Watertown or Harper's Ferry. He must search for most of his sailors in the forests of the Northwest; but, luckily for him, many of the immigrants to that section had not forgotten the nautical training of early years, and, emerging from their shaded fastnesses, re-enacted upon the inland waters the exploits of Revolutionary privateering. The haste that characterized all of these preparations is exemplified in the fact that what in the morning had been green timber standing upon its own trunk in the forest, by nightfall was fashioned into the masts and spars of the embryo fleet. In a way this is emblematic of the sudden blossoming maturity of our own nation because of a like quick and wasteful use of our national resources. Perry's energy as the prime mover in this task is perhaps best exemplified in the terse phrase of Danton: "De l'audace, encore de l'audace et toujours de l'audace!"

Within an incredible few weeks the newly constructed fleet is swinging at anchor behind the breakwater at Presqu' Isle. Its dauntless captain simply awaits the opportunity for the fight that he covets. As he paced the deck of the *Lawrence* he suggests the intrepid La Salle, the pioneer shipbuilder of Lake Erie. Just as the suspicious Iroquois blockaded the "Griffon" a century and a quarter before, so the watchful Briton prevents his rival from reaching the open sea, where alone he can fight to advantage. After a long period of delay, the Englishman Barclay appropriately succumbs to a dinner invitation, and his couped-up antagonist does not await a second opportunity. By a clever strategem his vessels are lifted across the bar and float freely upon the waters of Lake Erie; and his rival withdraws to the vicinity of Detroit. The long blockade broken, Perry adopts the initiative and begins to

search for the enemy, with the object of giving him immediate battle. He thus pursues a positive, instead of a negative course of action, and by so doing suggests a fair comparison between American and British policy in this section. From the beginning the American policy had been to go in and occupy the land; that of the British, to permit it to lie fallow as an Indian hunting ground. Perry, at the head of his fleet on Lake Erie searching for his opponent Barclay, exemplifies this idea, and the coming battle decides in favor of the policy of action.

On the tenth of September, as the two fleets bear down on each other, the young commodore fittingly displays as his watchword the charge of the dying Lawrence—"Don't give up the ship!" In the course of the fight, as he passes from the deck of his sinking flagship, he appears to be forgetting his own watchword, but it is only the abandonment of a dismantled hulk, and not the giving up of the fight; for raising his colors aloft on the *Niagara* he continues the conflict, and within a few fateful minutes is penning the thrilling despatch — "We have met the enemy and they are ours!"

The significance of this message is not the material results indicated by its closing words — "two ships, two schooners, one sloop, and one brig" — but the opportunity that is now given for American arms to undo the shameful effects of Hull's surrender. Because of Perry's advance and victory Harrison could give the order for a forward movement against Detroit. The occupation of that post by the Americans was followed by a swift pursuit of the retreating British through Upper Canada, the encounter on the Thames River, and the death of Tecumseh, the last of the great Indian organizers. When this series of events finally cleared the Northwest of foreign invaders, the miserable alliance between the Indians and the British received its death-blow, and our government began its more confident, if less just, Indian policy. A second series of treaties with the Indians at Greenville cemented the definite alliance between Indian and American and gave a pause to British diplomats, who at Ghent were demanding the establishment of an Indian protectorate beyond the Ohio River. The recovery of the Northwest meant the release of the men of Ken-

tucky, who went home from their sister state to the northward. as in '65 many of them returned from their sister states to the southward, conscious that they had assisted in preserving the Union. Outside of the Northwest the effect of the victory and ensuing campaigns was equally marked. Kentucky and Tennessee could turn their attention to the defense of the lower Mississippi and accomplish at New Orleans a more striking, but not more signal victory than at Put-in-Bay. The encounter at the latter island inspired McDonald on Lake Champlain to meet an invading force of Wellington's hitherto victorious veterans. It inspired Scott and Brown and Ripley to the defense of the Niagara frontier, where the daring of Perry's "Don't-give-up-the-ship" is matched by Ripley's confident "I-will-try,-sir." The flag borne over the shot-swept waters of Lake Erie is matched by its fellow fluttering in the morning light over the ramparts of Fort McHenry, and the loyalty aroused in the Northwest by this doughty New Englander served in a measure to dull the keen edge of New England's later threat of secession.

The effect of this significant encounter was felt, not merely within the limits of our own country but in the far off Belgian town of Ghent, the scene of the treaty which closed the War. To the haughty demand of the representatives of Great Britain that no American vessels should be permitted on the Great Lakes and that its shore should be fortified by their government, the American negotiators replied that their fleet held sway over the disputed waters. In answer to the suggestion that the country between the Ohio and the Great Lakes should continue indefinitely in possession of the Indians, as wards of the British government, the Americans reported Harrison's treaties at Greenville. To the threat of further conquest of American territory by Wellington's veterans, the Americans returned the opinion of the great duke himself that England had no just cause to continue the American struggle. The result of the weeks of harassing negotiations at Ghent was a mere agreement on the part of both contending parties to cease hostilities, but this temporary peace was followed by negotiations

on a more durable basis by which both authorities agreed to arm no vessels on the Great Lakes.

By this significant action the great victory of Oliver Hazard Perry was to remain in history as an event making for international peace. The first great naval encounter between civilized nations in this region was likewise to be the last. In the vast commercial fleets which to-day throng our inland seas and which in friendly rivalry administer to the wants of adjacent populations — under different flags, it is true, but equally devoted to the busy task of industrial democracy, — we behold the successors of Perry's hastily constructed flotilla. Thus it is fitting that we should commemorate the name of Oliver Hazard Perry and his great victory, by a monument which stands as a harbinger of perpetual peace rather than as a memento of fratricidal war.

# EDITORIALANA.

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## THE DRAPER MANUSCRIPTS.

In this QUARTERLY we publish the first of a number of articles we shall from time to time reproduce from the collection of the famous Draper manuscripts in the possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society, located at Madison, Wisconsin. A large portion of these manuscripts, there preserved, pertain to the early history of Ohio.

The past summer (1910) it was the privilege of the Editor of the QUARTERLY to visit Madison and through the courtesy of Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, Secretary and Superintendent of the Wisconsin Historical Society, certain of the Ohioan manuscripts were selected for transcription and publication in this and future numbers of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society QUARTERLY. Many of these have never before been made public and we are thus enabled to present our readers much valuable history at "first hand."

What are the Draper manuscripts? We answer that question from the article by Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites on "The Draper Manuscripts," published in his volume of "Essays on Western History."

Lyman Copeland Draper was a native of Erie County, New York, the year of his birth being 1815. His paternal grandfather was a Revolutionary soldier and his maternal grandfather fell in the War of 1812, in which contest his father also took part. The lad's taste therefore for historical lore of his own country was a natural inheritance. As a boy he heard the tales of frontier warfare from those who had participated therein, and he read the stories of the colonies. When only eighteen years of age he began to write historical sketches for the newspapers. In his nineteenth year he entered college at Granville, Ohio, now known as Denison University. After two years of undergraduate work, lack of means compelled him to leave and seek aid elsewhere. This aid he received from Peter A. Ramsen, who had married Draper's cousin. The well-to-do relative, appreciating the boy's ambition and ability, placed him in the Hudson River Seminary, at Stockport, New York, where he pursued his studies "which were followed by an extended course of private reading, chiefly historical,"—the historians of the Western border. In 1838 he entered upon the plan of writing a series

of biographies of trans-Alleghany pioneers, from material to be gathered by original investigation and research. This investigation and search of material he assiduously followed to the end of his life, "but," says Thwaites, "in the end he had only investigated and collected, and the biographies were never written." But he left a wealth of material for others to use. He entered into correspondence with the prominent pioneers, then still living, and (in 1840) began to supplement his correspondence with journeys of discovery and of interviews with persons able to impart information and historical data. These journeys slow and tedious in those days of primitive travel extended throughout New York, Ohio, Kentucky, Virginia and Tennessee. The result was a vast accumulation of "old diaries, letters, account-books, or other family documents which might cast sidelights on the romantic story of western settlement." He also visited and took notes among aged warriors of several Indian tribes — the Six Nations and the Ohio tribesmen. For forty years — 1840-1880 — he toiled unceasingly to gather this material, much if not most of which, would have been lost to the student and scholar, but for his industry. During the early period of his researches Draper drifted about, engaging in various literary enterprises, mostly historical, and he made his home in several localities, at one time (1841) in Pontotoc, Mississippi, where he was joined by a young lawyer, who had been a fellow-student at Granville, Ohio, one Charles H. Larrabee. For a while he was an official clerk at Buffalo, then for a time was in Baltimore and (in 1844) at Philadelphia, where his extensive and valuable collection of historical material, prints and books, came to the knowledge of George Bancroft, Dr. S. P. Hildreth, S. G. Drake, Francis Parkman, Jared Sparks, Benjamin Lossing and others. With these he carried on correspondence, and from them received encouragement to proceed in his mission. Lossing even entering with him into a proposed literary co-partnership for the joint production of some of the biographies of early prominent pioneers.

In January, 1849, the Wisconsin Historical Society was organized at Madison. Larrabee, then a circuit judge in Wisconsin, became one of the founders of the Society and through his recommendation and influence Lyman Draper was induced to settle in Madison, to which place his historical property was transported and placed in the archives of the Wisconsin Historical Society, of which famous society he became the secretary. In 1886 he resigned his secretarial office, "turning over to the charge of his successor a reference library of national reputation," to which were to be added the volumes of Wisconsin Historical Collections, which he edited and which are generally recognized as ranking with the best American publications of this character.

As we learn from the sketch of Dr. Thwaites, the result of Mr. Draper's efforts, now upon the shelves of the Manuscript Room in the Wisconsin Historical Library, is a collection numbering four hundred

folio volumes, comprising "some 10,000 fools-cap pages of notes of the recollections of frontier warriors and pioneers, either written by themselves, or taken down from their own lips; and wellnigh 5,000 pages more of original manuscript journals, memorandum books, and old letters written by nearly all the leading border heroes of the West." This collection under the direction of Dr. Thwaites has been classified, mounted in folios, catalogued and indexed in a most accurate and satisfactory manner, so as to place it easily within the use of students, desiring to consult the contents.

Dr. Draper died on August 26, 1891, after a life work, which did not fulfill his ambition or plans — as he had ever hoped to write and publish a series of complete biographies of pioneer heroes, but which left to succeeding workers the foundation for many an historical edifice, that never could have been erected but for "the unusual literary bricks and stone" gathered by him. Dr. Thwaites, whose privilege it has been to be the co-laborer and successor of Dr. Draper, to whose character and life work Thwaites pays splendid tribute, describing him as "undersized, far from robust; a bundle of nervous activity, with delicate cut features, which exhibited great firmness of character and the powers of intense mental concentration, readily brightened with the most winning of smiles."

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## MEMORIAL TO RUFUS PUTNAM.

[The Rufus Putnam Memorial Association, with headquarters at Worcester, Massachusetts, held its tenth annual meeting at Rutland, Mass., the home of Rufus Putnam, on September 27, 1910. As the proceedings interest the members of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, we publish the same as reported in the *Worcester Daily Telegram*, on September 28. — EDITOR.]

The 10th annual meeting of the Rufus Putnam Memorial Association was held in the Rufus Putnam home. The Worcester members and some from other places came in 10 automobiles. They left the Worcester Club about 11.30 o'clock.

The meeting was stirred by the address of Senator Charles S. Dana of Marietta, O., and remarks by Prof. A. B. Hulbert of Marietta College. President G. Stanley Hall called the meeting to order at 12.25 o'clock. Secretary Eben F. Thompson read the records of the last annual meeting. Vice-President Hon. Henry A. Marsh spoke of the death of Henry E. Hill, treasurer of the association, telling of his untiring efforts for the good of the association. He then read the report of the treasurer, which showed the balance on hand $178.16.

Then followed the election of officers for the year 1910-11. These were chosen: President, G. Stanley Hall; Vice-President, Hon. Henry A. Marsh; Clerk and Secretary, Eben F. Thompson; Treasurer, Edward G.

Norman, all of Worcester; Executive Committee, Charles A. Bartlett and Louis M. Hanff, Rutland, and Stephen C. Earle, Worcester.

These were elected members of the association: Hon. Curtis Guild, Jr., Boston; Mrs. Louise H. Norman, Miss Emma S. Hinckley and Frank L. Coes of Worcester.

Prof. A. B. Hulbert reported for the committee to which was referred the matter of an incorrect account published in the proceedings of the Bunker Hill Monument Association last year, stating that he delivered an address, June 17, in Boston, and that the address had been published in pamphlet form and sent to various societies. The address substantiated the fact that Gen. Rufus Putnam planned the fortifications at Dorchester Heights.

He offered resolutions which mentioned the planning and forming the Ohio Company of Associates by Gen. Rufus Putnam and Gen. Benjamin Tupper in the Rufus Putnam House in Rutland, 125 years ago, January 10, 1911; the leading of the colonists from Massachusetts and Connecticut to Ohio and the founding of Marietta; The organizing of Muskingum Academy in 1797 by Gen. Putnam, which later became Marietta College, and now owns valuable historical collections of the Ohio Company and journals, dairies and other papers of Gen. Putnam, was included.

In order to perpetuate the unselfish devotion of the pioneers who first settled Ohio, it was suggested a committee of ten be appointed by the President of the Rufus Putnam Memorial Association, which shall formulate and carry out a plan to secure what shall be known as the General Rufus Putnam Memorial Fund of $100,000, the income to be expended for the maintenance of the Rufus Putnam Home in Rutland in its present state of preservation; for the support of the department of history and political science and the historical museum of Marietta College, and for such other purposes as shall promote the general aim of this enterprise, the trustees of Marietta College to be custodians and trustees of the fund.

The resolutions were adopted and this committee appointed: G. Stanley Hall, Arthur F. Estabrook, Hon. Curtis Guild, Jr., Boston; Hon. Whitelaw Reid, London; Homer Lee, New York; W. W. Mills, Senator Charles S. Dana, Prof. A. B. Hulbert, Marietta; E. O. Randall, Columbus; A. George Bullock, Worcester.

Senator Charles S. Dana of Marietta was introduced:

He said, in part:

It is a privilege for me to stand by the threshold of the founder of Ohio and greet you of the East who revere the life and the deeds of Rufus Putnam. Here among the hills of Massachusetts the name of Rutland seems the articulation of the empire of the great Northwest. The mists of a century and a quarter do not dim the lurid deeds

of the Company of Ohio Associates, upon whom history spreads all the effulgence of the glorious sun.

The plain history of America transcends all the gilded imagination of the writer of the historical novel. The pen cannot add to the life of Washington, of Hamilton, of Adams, of Putnam, and within our own time it can but fittingly record its tribute to that great American of your own commonwealth, George Frisbie Hoar.

If Quebec had not fallen into the hands of the English under Gen. Wolfe, it is highly probable that the land we now call the great Northwest, would exist under the colors of France. If Lawrence and Augustine Washington had not formed a company, with Lord Fairfax, in 1748, that they called the Ohio Company, which company controlled the land immediately south of the Ohio River and north of the Little Kanawha, it is also possible that Ohio would be a French province today. If Gen. Lewis had not led his poorly armed and clad Virginia mountaineers to the battle of Point Pleasant in the Ohio Valley, and routed the Indians, who were fighting under English directions, it is also possible that there would not have been any reason for this Putnam Society to exist.

The Ohio Company grew from a call issued from yonder house by Gen. Putnam and Gen. Tupper, both brave soldiers of the Revolution, and the friends and companions of Washington.

We have met to commemorate and perpetuate the life and the deeds of Rufus Putnam in the fragrance of appreciation and grateful memory.

Putnam, the stepson of a Sutton inn-keeper, became a self-made man of the highest type. He early developed a fondness for engineering and had his early training in the old French and Indian wars. While in the conflict of the Revolution, his services were most distinguished at Dorchester Heights, in the fortifying of West Point, the creating of coast defenses, taking part in the capture of the army under Burgoyne, and the safe retreat from Long Island.

Rufus Putnam, the father of Ohio, is my toast: Rutland, Marietta, Ohio; these are the sequences.

I question if history records another instance wherein the government of a state was projected and the laws worked out in detail in the advance of the coming of a single individual to the land. Herein the genius of Putnam was recognized and, with his forceful character, he was placed at the head of the Ohio Company of Associates.

I have never been able to picture Putnam as a man given to making money from his associates. He did not exploit the Ohio Company. When he left Rutland he had in his heart the love of God and the love of his fellowmen, and to him the Ohio country offered an opportunity for the advancement of mankind in a land where human slavery could not exist and where the church was to stand beside the

schoolhouse. He realized that a people to be great must be accomplished, and so he took with him the plans of a university, and under the Ohio Company the first institution of this kind was established in Ohio.

In the wilderness our fathers propagated Greek and Latin roots from the very beginning and raised a citizenship of conspicuous mark. Men of broad lives and views, who knew their rights and dared maintain them; men who absorbed the ideas of Putnam's life and placed their own lives behind the guns that flashed from Sumter and Appomattox.

Rufus Putnam could not have conceived of the creation of a community without an institution of higher learning, and by the fireplace here in Rutland he planned for an institution like Marietta College. Through this seat of learning his influence lives today, and Rutland and Marietta are joined by ties that will endure.

Ohio is now one of the empire states with a population representative of the civilization of the globe. Her children have amalgamated the blood of New England and of the Virginians, and in these strains her men and women are virile, they are yet the exemplars of the Putnam band and must be the source of perpetuating the good, honest, common-sense that has, after all, made America great.

Do not allow your ideals of Putnam's standard to be replaced by the "Melting Pot." The pure strain of American blood must not be contaminated in this way, for otherwise we will turn back the sands of time.

Truly this is a time of rapid progress. Ours is the engine of internal combustion, the wireless message, the subtle power of electricity, the recording of the human voice, the power of aerial travel.

This is a country just passing the portals of real human progress, and we are a part of the same. Ours is the inspiration of all that has made our nation great, and it is ours to help keep perpetual the integrity of Rufus Putnam, his honest purpose and his devotion to "religion, education and morality."

After the address of Senator Dana, a recess was had, and the members went to Hotel Bartlett, where dinner was served. At the tables were: Dr. G. Stanley Hall, Mrs. Florence E. Hall, A. George Bullock, Mrs. Mary C. Bullock, Burton W. Potter, Mrs. Fannie E. Potter, William Woodward, Mrs. Caroline I. Woodward, Nathaniel Paine, Henry A. Marsh, Mrs. Emily W. Marsh, Eben F. Thompson, Miss Emma S. Hinckley, Stephen C. Earle, Nathan H. Allen, Edward G. Norman, Mrs. Louise H. Norman, Miss Mary Hoar, Dr. Charles B. Elder, Mrs. Almina R. Elder of Worcester; Rev. Sidney Crawford, Wayland; Edwin D. Mead, Boston; Senator Charles S. Dana, Prof. A. B. Hulbert, Marietta; Miss Edith Sears, Boston; Miss Maude Bartlett, Brooklyn; Ira G. Dudley, Mrs. Sarah Dudley, Boston; Walter A. Wheeler,

Mrs. Mary E. Bray, Charles R. Bartlett, Mrs. Catharine M. Bartlett, Louis M. Hanff, Mrs. Frances P. Hanff, Rutland.

After the dinner, Prof. Hulbert, Senator Dana and Edwin D. Mead spoke briefly, after which the meeting dissolved. After the meeting, several signed the membership roll of the Rutland Chapter of the Ohio Company of Associates.

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## GOLDWIN SMITH.

### A Pupil's Recollection.

Just two score years ago — in the Fall of 1870 — the editor of the QUARTERLY — then a "slip of a lad" just emerging from his 'teens — landed at the little city of Ithaca, nestling in the valley at the head shores of picturesque Lake Cayuga, New York. It was one bright September morn that the young matriculate climbed the "hill of science" to its brow, surmounted by the campus then only partially leveled knolls, the site of the new institution of learning, called Cornell University, which according to its founder was to be an institution "where anybody could find instruction in any study." The university, now one of the most famous in the land, with a score of magnificent buildings, a wealth of equipment, hundreds of professors and instructors and thousands of students, was then but a hope and promise with two or three permanent grey-stone buildings and half a dozen, temporarily constructed, frame halls of learning. But brick and stone and chunks of endowment funds do not alone make a university. It is the professors and the instruction that mould the character of the student and train and develop his gray matter, if he has any, for the battle of life. It has been truly said that "Mark Hopkins, seated on one end of a log with a student at the other makes a college." At Cornell in those incipient days, there were crude appointments for the accommodation of the earnest boys who flocked to this new institution. But it was the first to break the shell of the old narrow courses of mere dead languages and a slight smattering of science, and it was the pioneer to broaden the curriculum into optional studies of a hundred fold. But those early years was the period of distinguished professors and lecturers, resident and non-resident. James Russell Lowell, George William Curtis, Bayard Taylor, in literature; Louis Agassiz in natural science; Herman E. Von Holst, Goldwin Smith, James Anthony Froude, Edward A. Freeman, George Washington Green and Andrew D. White, in history. Of that distinguished galaxy each one has done his good work and passed to the beyond — all save one, Andrew D. White, the first president and the one who inspired Ezra Cornell to found the institution and who outlined the plans of this distinctly American college — the new and liberal methods which were at first to draw the bitter antagonism of all other

colleges — especially the denominational ones, but which in due time were to be followed, especially in its elective system, by all the leading instructional institutions in this country. Noble and potent man, that Andrew D. White, the scholar, the diplomat, the author, the protagonist of the depth and breadth of modern American college education — he still survives to enjoy the appreciation and praise of all right-minded educators and scholars the world over; may many years yet he his lot.

The editor was moved to revive these informal memories by the sad realization that Goldwin Smith recently joined "the innumerable caravan" — Goldwin Smith who from the inception — in 1868 — until near the time of his demise was connected with the growth and progress of Cornell University as a lecturer in English history, nor was there a greater in that subject. The editor can never forget the hours he sat before that tall, gaunt figure, seated in a chair, as was his wont when lecturing, after the Oxford manner, and calmly, almost impassively, "talking" in language of precise elegance of the kings and queens and the people of England, from the time when Caesar laid his rapacious hand on the "tight Little Island" to the glorious Victorian Age. In his clear, precise and scholastic words, it seemed as if the speaker was making history as he proceeded — it was not a recitation of the annals written by others, it was the panorama of the scenes and events themselves. Many are the anecdotes we might recall of those delightful and precious day. Intensely loyal to America the country of his adoption, as he was, the national birth right and British sympathies and training of the distinguished lecturer would occasionally crop out. He did not agree with Froude on the Irish question and when the latter was at Ithaca, delivering his brilliant lectures, at times lit up with flashes of wit and humor, the editor one morning asked Prof. Smith what he thought of Mr. Froude's handling of his subject the evening before: "h'ts a very h'easy matter to make h'an h'audience laugh," was his only reply. Again when Greene, the eminent American historian, was there, lecturing on the American Revolution, a group of students, at the close of one of his lectures, fell into a dispute as to who won at the battle of Monmouth, the British or Americans, student-like a bet was made and the editor as stake holder was requested to refer the dispute to Goldwin Smith, who had just taken his seat for his morning discourse. The editor put the question to the good natured "Goldie," as we called him. He immediately proceeded to give an elaborate account of the battle of Monmouth in England, in the famous contest between Scotland and England. As soon as possible the editor corrected the error into which the professor had fallen by saying, "not to that battle of Monmouth do we refer, but to the battle of Monmouth in the American Revolution." Instantly the small, deep set eyes of the professor flashed up as he said, "Oh, I don't know anything about your petty American squabbles — go ask Greene." But he did know all about our "petty" American squabbles, and his later writings concerning

the social and political problems of our government and people showed an understanding of affairs American as profound and prophetic as any of our own thinkers and writers.

The latter years of his life he made Toronto his home, where he became editor of one of the leading Canadian monthlies and he wrote and spoke much in favor of the ultimate union of the Canadian province and the United States — it would be best for both, was ever his plea. He wrote with great force and rare scholarship on many topics of the day — and no writer, Britsh or American, was read with greater interest or more thoughtful consideration, for he was fearless, convincing, and devoid of bias, political or religious.

Grand old "Goldie" — thousands of men — pupils of his in the years early and later throughout our broad land will turn the wheels of memory and pay mental tribute to the learning and kindly spirit that was his and gratefully recall the privileged hours when they sat in his presence and listened to the unfolding of historic events, told in his easy, fluent rhetoric, unsurpassed in clearness and precision. It was the golden age of Cornell's historians, and among them the memory of none is more greatly revered or will be longer remembered than that of Goldwin Smith.

He proved his undying love and devotion to the university, he served so long and so well, by leaving the large estate, which had become his in his Canadian home, to that same institution on the Ithacan hill; upon the campus of which, in its earliest days he caused to be placed a stone seat upon the back of which was carved the main truth of his religion: "Above all nations is Humanity."

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